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# THE INDIAN WORLD

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*(From the Times)*

## SELECTIONS

### EUROPE'S RELATIONS WITH ASIA

#### THE REFLECTIONS OF AN EXILE

The man who, after years of absence, suddenly finds himself whirled along on the roaring tides of London, feels dazed and disconcerted. He is conscious of change, but cannot rightly tell whether the change lies in his own outlook, or in the environment to which he has returned. He sees with astonishment great cars of Jagannath hustling through the contracted streets ; he drops down a shaft, and is whisked headlong beneath the very foundations of the giant city ; he emerges into the pale daylight breathless and amazed, and gazes with fresh wonder upon the surging traffic, upon the palaces, the new and strange hotels, the swift and costly motor-cars, all the evidences of luxury, extravagance, and poverty that pass incessantly before his unaccustomed eyes. He feels like a man in a dream ; the rushing, preoccupied throngs become for a time a haunting obsession that banishes sleep ; but presently, after contact with his fellows, he asks himself whether he is really the dreamer, or whether it is not rather these eager, restless peoples who are busy with fond illusions. They seem complacent and satisfied ; they laugh when asked to look outward over distant horizons ; even those who dimly realized are acquiescent. The strident newspapers are full of outcry about what seems nothing to the stranger. He is told that he is in the midst of a tremendous crisis ; but to him it seems utterly unreal—a battle of puppets about shadows. He hears reverberant sentiments of Empire ; but he knows it is an Empire held together by mere handfuls of trained men. He listens to marvellous schemes for making work easy and thrift obsolete, which seem to imply that the country has some inexhaustible mine of hidden wealth. He hears of the coming days when the burden of life is to be lightened and all men are to be leisured and happy. No one, he thinks at last, seems to see for a moment that the struggle for existence in the West may grow keener ; but he knows they would see it if they would but look with eyes uplifted to the East.



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### A VISION OF THE EAST

"Is it the East or the West that is dreaming?" the wanderer asks himself as he watches the fog drifting through the cheerless streets, blotting out the sky, and wrapping the city in a brown pall, lit by glimmering lamps. He broods over memories of things seen, not dimly, like these vague swift shapes that flit through the gloom, but clear-cut beneath the morning light of the East. Forests of smoking factory chimneys, owned by brown men, managed by brown men, with swarms of workers who will readily toil 12 or 14 hours a day for a pittance of a few coppers; vast arsenals, where are made all weapons from great guns to rifles, without any Western supervision; dread battleships, manned and armed and controlled and fought without the aid of any white man; the multitudinous cities of Asia, rich and prosperous and growing—and awake. Vast plains of waving wheat, illimitable stretches of green rice fields, dense and inexhaustible forests, wide brimming rivers. The locomotive, piercing jungles, crossing chasms, speeding across immeasurable distances, binding the oldest continent in a network of steel rails with the willing approval of the people. Incalculable stores of coal and iron and gold, still almost unscratched, waiting the advent of the men of the new age. Races in myriads who learned the secret of work when our forefathers were still clad in skins, who dream of no millennium, but ask for nothing more than to continue their patient tireless industry. Men with brains more subtle than ours, with wills more tenacious than ours, who have never felt the Western fear of death. More than eight hundred millions of people who have watched the white races overrun and dominate their territories for 300 years, and have at last been quickened into a new spirit of resistance, a widespread determination to have and to hold their own lands in undisputed possession. An Asia savage, resentful, stirring, implacable. No, it is not Asia that is dreaming—it is Europe.

### ASIA IS NOT CHANGELESS

There are certain beliefs about Asia which it is the fashion in the West to accept without question. One of these is contained in the popular phrase, "The changeless East." There is no more exemption from the fundamental laws of change in the East than in the West. Some human and racial characteristics endure, as they do everywhere; but Asia has been one constant phantasmagoria of change from the beginning of time. She is covered with the ruins of mighty cities which grew, flourished, decayed, and were abandoned. Time after time, she has thrown up conquering hordes which have marched forward to overwhelming victory in the East, the West, and the South. Men say that in the dim night in her desert spaces you may still hear the tramp of ghostly armies, and the faint wild strains of barbaric music. Innumerable conquerors have arisen, and spread destruction and death far and wide in her broad lands, and founded dynasties—and been forgotten. The whole nature of the Asiatic peoples is imbued with the idea of change. They have the nomadic instinct as the Teutonic races never had it. The caravans you meet in Mongolia and Persia, the pilgrims who cross dizzy mountain passes pursuit of an ideal, the roving mendicants who pass from city to city and country to country—all those drifting, mysterious strangers, who



wander from end to end of Asia are the embodiments of the craving for change.

Asia is only changeless in that beneath the thin garments of Western influence she has remained true to her own spirit. But for the rest, the last ten years have witnessed mightier changes in the psychological outlook of Asia than the continent has known for centuries. We must not be lulled into comfortable confidence by these delusions about "the changeless East."

#### ASIA NOT A MYSTERY

Another popular belief, which is largely fallacious, is the prevalent idea that "there is no greater difference in the world than the difference between East and West." Whenever people talk about Asia, they at once assume the existence of inscrutable mysteries. They think nothing of tearing her most esoteric secrets from the bosom of Nature, but they speak as though an Asiatic is a being from another world. The idea is partly a survival from the days of Prester John, when the East was mysterious indeed, and partly it is due to regard people as weird and strange and abnormal who do not think and act precisely as he does. We shall learn to discern the probable future of Asia more clearly if we break away from the romantic habit of regarding the Asiatic nations as impossible to understand; if we count upon their broad course of action as being likely to be very much that which European nations would follow under similar circumstances.

#### THE NEW ERA

The new era in Asia really began on the day when China told Italy to keep clear of Samsun Bay; but for history it will always date from the memorable night when the Japanese torpedo-boats were slipped from their leash and dashed amid the Russian battle-ships beneath the shadow of Golden Hill. The unfurling of the flag of the Rising Sun over Port Arthur meant far more than a Japanese victory. It was hailed as an omen and a portent by all Asia. It was an emblem of the turn of the tide that had carried the white races to the shores of the Pacific. The outward movement that began when Vasco da Gama sighted the green palms and golden sands of Calicut, and Yermak led his hardy band of warriors across the Urals into the trackless forests of Siberia, was stayed for the first time. The peoples of Asia knew full well that their day was dawning at last. When the Japanese burst open the barred doors of Manchuria, and drove the Russians headlong back towards the Sungari, they let loose a surging flood of vague but potent aspirations that quickly spread over the whole continent. From Stamboul to Canton, from Kabul to Madras, from Tokyo to Hail, the peoples of Asia were quickly resurgent. We cheered our gallant allies when they stormed the blood-red slopes of Nanshan, but did we realize all that their triumph may mean some day to us and to Europe, and to all the Western world?

#### THE LESSON OF HISTORY

The victory of Japan was not a new phenomenon. If the Western world contemplated it with stupefied surprise, it was only because, flushed with the memories of long and dazzling successes, it had forgotten history. The whole of human history in the Eastern



hemisphere has been one long record of the ebb and flow of encounters between Europe and Asia. The alternation is as persistent, and almost as regular, as the recurrence of winter and summer, of night and day. It is one of the great perennial phenomena of human existence. It began with the dawn of civilization at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence migratory races carried the arts of writing and agriculture eastward and westward, to the Mediterranean and the Yangtse, and the Godavari, through Europe and through Asia. Then came the rise of the Aryans, which was probably also a movement both eastward and westward, though in its most marked result it was an invasion of Southern Asia from the direction of Europe. Followed, after a long interval, the westward sweep of the Persians, stopped in an heroic age at Marathon and Salamis, the tide of conflict rushed eastward again when Alexander made his marvellous raid through the Hindu Kush into India, and marched back trailing the spoils of Asia in his train. The long struggle between Carthage and Rome, though it had its real inception in migrations which happened when Greece was young, was essentially, in his later stages, an episode in the ancient antagonism between Asia and Europe.

The eagles of Rome were carried to the Euphrates, and the Roman legions were long a bulwark against Asiatic aggression, but Rome sought few conquests in the East. The decay of the Roman Empire weakened the barriers; and again the star of Asia rose as the Huns poured like a torrent into Europe, carrying death and devastation far and wide under the ruthless guidance of Attila. The rise of Islam brought fresh Asiatic incursions, though the Arabs clung to the shores of the Mediterranean and left the real heart of Europe unmenaced. The retaliation of the Crusaders was far more feeble and unproductive than the armed and restrained vigilance of Rome. It left the energy of Asia unabated. The meteoric appearance of Jenghiz Khan generated a new flood of invasion which carried the Golden Horde across the Volga and placed Russia under a long and bitter domination. The Ottoman Turks crossed the Bosphorus and even thundered at last at the gates of Vienna. But the tide turned once again. The West had learned the secret of the sea, and science and superior organization had given it the keys of Asia. It had, too, caught the passion for trade from the East in an inferior degree but not less keenly. The dramatic appearance of Vasco da Gama off the Malabar coast was followed by a rush of Spanish and Dutch and British and French and Russian forces, some of which founded Empires far greater than Asia in Europe had ever dreamed of. The last pulsations of the outward tide brought Dewey to the shores of Manila Bay and Germany to Kiaochau. Then the guns of Japan spoke, and the tide was turned and a new era began. Yet it had already, perhaps, had a beginning in the final results of that mysterious dispersal of the Jewish race, which after many centuries of suffering and repression had given an indomitable people a master-hold upon the strings of European policy.

#### BRITISH CONTROL OF INDIA

There are three great problems which, in their gradual development, are likely to determine the character of the relations between Europe and Asia in the present century. The first, and the greatest, because it will most directly influence the moral attitude of Europe



towards the East, is that of the course which will be shaped by Great Britain in her control of India. Upon the outcome of the tremendous experiment in racial regeneration to which Great Britain is committed the fate of Europe in Asia chiefly turns. It is of vital moment to Europe that British dominion in India should be maintained, and there is little doubt that its stability cannot be gravely menaced by internal revolt. But the British people is about to have its sincerity of purpose in India challenged as it has never yet been. Great Britain has never made up its mind about its aim in India, but it will have to do so soon. Neither the Royal visit nor any other adventitious expedient can deflect the new and fundamental tendencies now at work. The coming issue in India, upon which the continued acceptance of British rule depends, will be found in the demand already arising for fiscal and financial liberty. If the demand is conceded, and in whatever form, it must inevitably involve some abatement of the control from England, which is essentially financial. The impending agitation will test to the utmost the professed unselfishness of British motives in holding India, and will be fraught with destinies as great as those which lay concealed in the Declaratory Act when it was passed by the Rockingham Ministry.

#### THE FUTURE OF CHINA

The second problem is that of the future of China. It is the problem which must in its solution ultimately have the greatest material effect upon Europe, because of the vast natural resources of China and the industry and capacity of her teeming inhabitants. Many believe that the Chinese are destined to become again, as they were ages ago, the greatest power in Asia. The awakening of China has been, and will continue to be, as slow process, its stages marked by many apparent failures and even losses, but it will be the more enduring because it is slow. The late Lord Salisbury cared little about Asiatic questions, but he had a way of getting at the heart of things in a few vigorous words. When he growled out that he declined to believe that 400 millions of people could ever become moribund, he touched the root of the matter. No Western Power will now be able permanently to place those myriads of yellow men in subjection. An expedition to Peking, the seizure of a port or two or an outlying province, the slaughter of a few thousand Chinese—these things leave the essential China almost untouched; and the Chinese are beginning to know it. The spirit of China is not aggressive, though the memory of a thousand wrongs may rankle and produce grave results. The danger from the Chinese is that of industrial competition, and it is still so little visible that the menace is hardly realized in Europe. Every year adds strength to the position of China, and behind the medley of corruption and weakness which still constitutes her administration a new spirit of cohesion and ambition is at work.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

The third great problem is that of the countries of the Middle East, and it has the most immediate interest, because it will probably be the first to come to a head. The Middle East is the real cockpit of the world. It is the abiding battleground between East and West, the arena of those mighty conflicts which have brought



Empires to the dust. It begins at Adrianople and ends at Jellalabad. There is no country lying between those two cities which can hope to preserve its present methods of control without great modifications. Turkey has not yet found salvation; its remoter provinces grow more rebellious, and the new system of government has so far failed to work smoothly. Persia is groping in the dark; its Parliamentary experiment drifts nearer to a complete deadlock, and there can be no growth of strength while the mutually jealous southern tribes hold the balance of power. Afghanistan cannot expect for ever to maintain its sullen isolation, though it is to the interest of Great Britain that it should remain so. The weakness of the races of the Middle East is a danger to Europe, because it may at any time produce quarrels and an explosion. The quarrels of Europe are the opportunities of Asia. Though Turkey absorbs European attention, Persia and the Persian Gulf probably present greater risks of international disputes. The troubles of Persia are ultimately due to her changed climate, for she has shared to some extent in the process of desiccation visible in parts of Asia, and she has no great rivers to retrieve the balance. To that extent, therefore, they are insoluble. The Persian Gulf is a danger, because Great Britain rightly holds that she must control it in the interests of India, and the claim may some day be called in question. The Middle East offers no present menace to Europe, save that by its very weakness it produces jealous aspirations which may breed war.

#### THREE GREAT FACTORS

There are three great factors which must exercise a preponderating influence in the determination of these problems. The first is the development of land communications, which is completely revolutionizing the Asiatic question. The last rails had scarcely been bolted in the line which Russia carried to an ice-free port on the Pacific, when some of the greatest battles the world has ever seen were fought as a direct result. Yet the railway has opened up the potential riches of Manchuria; and the great railway system now being constructed in China must presently introduce the Chinese to unexampled prosperity. The growth of India's wealth is chiefly due to railway development, which has incidentally greatly strengthened British control. The Baghdad Railway will assuredly be built, and Persia will not long remain without railway lines, though she probably needs good roads more. The chief railway question of Asia is now the connexion of India with Europe on the one hand and with China on the other, and both these schemes are no longer wild dreams. No one can foresee all the changes which the locomotive may produce, but its steady advance must profoundly modify the existing situation.

#### THE UNITY OF ASIA

The second factor is the rejuvenation of the Asiatic peoples, prompted by Japan. There can be no mistake about the new spirit abroad in the East. The dry bones have stirred. Behind the mysterious activities of the Young Turks, the muddled wrangles of the Persians, the insistent aspirations of the Indians, the new craving for education among the Chinese, the mailed efficiency of the Japanese, there lives and moves a spirit which, however varied



its expression, is essentially the same in every Eastern land. It has everywhere a common origin, for at the back of all things else it is a revolt against the domination of Europe. It is a manifestation of the new Pan-Asiatic ideal, and though it does not involve unity of action it implies a common purpose. A new world-movement is beginning, which is nevertheless as old as humanity itself. The pulsating heart of Asia has begun another diastole, and the expansion must produce a renewal of the ancient conflict with the West.

#### THE COMING CONFLICT

But for a period, the duration of which cannot be discerned, it will be a conflict in a new form. Though the principles which govern human history are eternal, the manner of their reappearance varies. No signs are visible which portend the recurrence of gigantic war between the two continents, one reason being that climate-changes have made the Middle East far less populous. There may be occasionally terrible encounters on the battle-field—we have recently witnessed a very great one—but no horde of conquering Asiatics is likely to overrun Europe. The third factor now coming into play is that of the industrial development of Asia, and the coming conflict between Europe and Asia will be, in its most permanent form, a war of industrial competition. When the factories and mines of Asia have heaped up fresh riches for the East, the character of the conflict may change and become more violently militant, but the intermediate process must be a long one. Yet the results will not be less tangible because the weapons will be bales of piece-goods rather than ironclads. In the south and east of Asia are these swarming peoples with their illimitable resources, their faculty of patient labour, their realization of the great truth which the West is forgetting—that true happiness lies in unhurried work and not in aimless leisure. They have not lost the joy of fatherhood or the secret of maternity. They occupy the lands made fruitful by the monsoons, and the desiccation of much of the rest of Asia leaves them untouched. They have been preoccupied with agriculture for unnumbered ages, but now they are learning the uses of machinery. Why should they continue to buy from the West the products which they can make for themselves? China has always made most of the clothing her people require. In time she will probably make all she wants, and then China and Japan and India will ask themselves—as indeed they are already doing—why they should not compete in the rest of the markets of the world. That is why the renaissance of Asia means so much to the workmen of Europe. That is why the West should awaken from its dreams. It has pictured the docile millions buying its merchandise with meek acquiescence, but the East is no longer docile, and is clamouring for its rightful share of prosperity.

#### SOME FURTHER POSSIBILITIES

It remains to point out that all these conclusions are liable to be modified by the appearance of some quite unforeseen phenomenon. In the East, far more than in any other part of the world, it is the unexpected that happens. The dominating factor in Asia is religion, and its mutations are less easy to discern than the growth of new tendencies in the materialistic West. The recent subtle intrusion of Pan-Islamism into China, which has passed



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almost unnoticed, may, for instance, contain the germ of great events of dire import to the world. There are already 30,000,000 Mahomedans in China. They have been frequently in revolt, and the more ancient faiths are weakening. The fear that other parts of the world are likely to receive floods of yellow and brown men is, on the other hand, probably quite unfounded. The small overspill of the Eastern races which has reached other countries has been carried thither far less by pressure of population than by the genuine demand for cheap manual labour and a natural desire to make the most of existent opportunities. Both China and India can support far more than their present population. The sole exception is Japan, which needs room for expansion, though the need is more likely to bring her again into violent contact with Russia than with any other Power. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that America watches the outward tendencies of the Asiatic peoples with a somewhat tremulous anxiety, and that Australia should begin to realize that her vast empty tropical lands may not for ever be allowed to remain untilled and unpeopled. Too much has been made of the colour question. This article has been written in vain if it has not shown that the processes at work lie far deeper than the mere antagonism of colour, though that is admittedly a potent surface influence. The economic factor is the mainspring of the complex relations between East and West, and in the new form it makes the Asiatic question the greatest question of the 20th century. (*The Times*).

## RELIGION AND CASTE

### A REVIEW OF INDIAN BELIEFS

The task of giving, in a limited space, an intelligible account of the religions professed by the millions of his Majesty's subjects inhabiting India presents difficulties which can perhaps be realized best by a brief reference to the statistical drybones of the Census returns for 1901. Of the total population (including Native States) of 294½ millions there recorded, 207 millions were returned as Hindus, 62½ millions as Musulman, and 8½ as Animists. While these figures have to be supplemented by the numbers of Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, and Jews, those relating to the Hindus have also to be sub-divided into various sects. Hinduism itself is of so fluid and complex a character that it has taken Sir Herbert Risley many pages of discussion in his "People of India" to arrive at its elliptical definition as being "Animism more or less transformed by philosophy," or, in other words, as "magic tempered by metaphysics." To the lay mind, however, no definition can convey any conception of the complexity and unlimited variations of the manifestations of Hindu religious beliefs, and one must be content to endeavour to describe some of its broader features, and at the same time to indicate its intimate connexion with, or rather dependence upon, the social institution of caste.

### THE BASIS OF HINDUISM

In the first place, it should be of peculiar interest to us of the British Empire to realize that the basis of the higher Hinduism is,



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in its earliest known form, closely analogous to, if not identical with, that of the earliest religions professed in Europe. Max Muller, in his lectures on the "Science of Religion," has pointed out "that the highest God has received the same name in the ancient mythology of India, Greece, Italy, and Germany, and had retained that name, whether worshipped on the Himalayan mountains or among the oaks of Dodona, on the Capitol, or in the forests of Germany"; and he has drawn therefrom the inference that the ancestors of the whole Aryan race worshipped an unseen Being, under the self-same, name, "the best, the most exalted name which they could find in their vocabulary—under the name of Light and Sky." Just as, in Europe, this ancient worship degenerated into a form of nature worship and idolatry, so, it appears, the religion of that branch of the Aryan family which migrated to India and came in contact with the Turanians and Dravidians assimilated customs and beliefs which overlaid and modified its earlier simplicity. Fetichism and totemism, of which there are remains to-day in India among the aboriginal tribes, exercised their influence upon the Aryan immigrants, and while the religion of the latter, in its ultimate Brahmanical form, succeeded in absorbing and embracing practically the whole population, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, this achievement appears to have been purchased at the expense of a general lowering of the ideals and standards of the conquerors. Just as, no doubt, the earlier Aryan immigrants took women from among the conquered races, so also they absorbed some of the customs of the races to whom they thus became related; and, with a tolerance which is characteristic of the Indian of to-day, not only permitted the continuance of the indigenous practices which they found prevalent in their new home, but even grafted some of these on to their hereditary rites and beliefs.

That this was so, and that, at all events in the earliest Aryan incursions, there was no rigid severance, either social or religious, —between the indigenous populations and their conquerors, seems to be corroborated by the fact that the earliest records we have of the Indo-Aryans and their customs—namely, the Rig-Veda—contain nothing to show the existence of any division of the people into castes. The oldest of the Hindu sacred books, on the other hand, gives colour to the belief that the doctrine of metempsychosis may have originated with the indigenous inhabitants of India.

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But if the Aryans were indebted to the peoples they had subdued for the idea of transmigration of souls, they appear not only to have "lent to it a moral significance of which no trace is to be found among the Animists," but also, after evolving from it the theory of an automatic retribution which is known as *Karma*, to have made this theory the basis of the social fabric as we now know it in India. The origin of caste is wrapped in obscurity, but the deductions made by Sir Herbert Risley justify us in tracing the complex structure of the Indian religious and social system to the effects of successive Aryan immigrations. The earliest of these, bringing a race numerically weak into contact with the aboriginal tribes of India, would account for the assimilation of many of the customs and beliefs of the mass of the populace; but, as they received added strength from later incursions of members of their own race,



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the tendency would be towards a preservation by the immigrant conquerors of their distinctive racial characteristics, and towards the adaptation of indigenous tradition to that purpose. On this theory it does not seem too far fetched to suppose that the idea of reincarnation, when once it had become part and parcel of the Indo-Aryan's beliefs, should be made to operate forcibly in the direction of the preservation of race distinctions, and, ultimately, of social gradations. The theory of metempsychosis, as is shown by its development to-day, would be a powerful factor to this end; and would be a weapon for the enforcement of laws of endogamy, hypergamy, and exogamy far more cogent than any argument based on mere racial pride.

Whatever the original cause, however, the facts are clear, and, as Max Muller expresses it, "Modern Hinduism rests on the system of caste as on a rock which no arguments can shake." It is not only a religious force, but a social organization which has survived reforms and hostile invasions by the proselytizing Moslems and continues to-day, after hundreds of years of contact with other faiths and civilizations, the predominant system in India. The manner in which the social and religious aspects of Hinduism act and react upon one another is best exemplified by the history of the reform movements which, from time to time, have arisen with the object of purging the Vedic religion of impure accretions. The greater of these movements, in chronological order, are Jainism, Buddhism, and (in comparatively recent times) Sikhism: while in our own period the sects of the Brahmo and Arya-Samajists have endeavoured to set up a reformed ideal of philosophic Hinduism.

**PRESENT CONDITION OF HINDUISM**

A preliminary glance at Hinduism as it presents itself to the casual observer to-day may be useful. The first impression derived from a cursory study of the outward manifestations of the religion of India is undoubtedly one of astonishment at the multiplicity of shrines, at the devotion of the people, and at the apparently heterogeneous nature of the deities enshrined. In the more or less orthodox provinces, as contrasted with the tracts where aboriginal Animism still predominates, there is in nearly every house some image or emblem purporting to be the elephant-faced god Ganesh (a son of Shiva) who presides over the entrance of the home (*cf.* Janus) and must be propitiated at the outset of any journey or undertaking. Out of doors temples to Vishnu or Shiva, according to the particular cult locally predominating, are the most conspicuous shrines. But throughout India one may come across innumerable local deities whose familiar names bear no resemblance to those of any of the gods of the orthodox pantheon.

In more backward places, where aboriginal ideas have persisted, colouring the local Hinduism, the process of deification is by no means confined to eponymous heroes in human shape. There is an altar near the top of a mountain in the Western Ghats which was established only 20 years ago, and the deified hero was clothed, while on earth, in the shape of a horse. No other horse, however, had ever scaled those heights before, and the local village elders had no hesitation in concluding that under the equine form must, for purposes of his own, have been hidden the spirit of the godhead.



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And yet, except in the most backward tracts, it would be an error to conclude that the mass of the people is plunged in ignorant paganism. Clumsy and ugly as are many of the outward symbols of their worship, the philosophy and ideals of the higher Hinduism are yet present to the minds of the people to a degree which it is difficult at first to realize. They no more directly worship the hideous *ling*, or the revolting image representing the goddess of small-pox, than do enlightened Christians the images of the Virgin. Those things merely symbolize some activity or power of the Universal Godhead, and the poorest cultivator may have a curiously definite conception of the intricacies of the doctrines of *Karma* and metempsychosis.

## RELIGION AND MORALITY

While there is no gainsaying the elevation of the concept of the former, which replaces what might be termed a doctrine of "rewards and fairies" by one according to which every act of a man carries with it inexorably its own consequences through the whole succession of his subsequent lives, it is, as a matter of fact, a doctrine of singularly small influence on the ethical side. Sir Alfred Lyall has said:—"In India, few people would admit that their religious beliefs were necessarily connected with morality"; and he goes on to indicate what is perhaps the great distinction between Europe and India in this respect:—"In Europe morality can, on the whole, dictate terms to theology, and though both sides still equally dread an open quarrel, yet theology has most to fear from a dissolution of partnership. In Asia theology is still the senior partner, with all the capital and credit, and can dictate terms to morality, being, for the most part, independent of any connexion with it."

## THE STRENGTH OF BRAHMANISM

Perhaps the most comprehensive sentence describing modern Hinduism is that contained in Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Census Report of 1881:—"A hereditary sacerdotalism, with Brahmins for its Levites, the vitality of which is preserved by the social institution of caste, and which may include all shades and diversities of religion native to India, as distinct from the foreign importations of Christianity and Islam, and from the later outgrowths of Buddhism, more doubtfully of Sikhism, and still more doubtfully of Jainism." Now there are various factors at the present day which tend automatically towards the subversion of the caste system; not only the material facilities of communication and travel afforded by modern means of transit, but, in a far more potent degree, the germination of a moral influence emanating from Western education and the resultant advance in purity of administration. Caste, as we have seen, rests upon no authority derived from the earliest Hindu scriptures, and is, as we shall see further on, the feature of Hinduism which comes first under condemnation at the hands of successive reform movements. The most modern of these are the fruits of a rising moral sentiment regarding which Sir Alfred Lyall has a significant passage in his "Asiatic Studies."

After describing the spirit of philosophic paganism as it manifests itself in Hinduism, he says:—"The popular religious beliefs must obey the pressure of slowly rising moral influence and if the



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*social condition of a people continues to advance*" (the italics are mine) "this process goes on until at last the authority of morals becomes as necessary to theology as at first the authority of theology was to morals." This furnishes us with a key to the conflict that is going on in India to-day. The social condition of the people is advancing and moral influences are gaining an ever-increasing hold upon them, and must, if that advance is fostered, eventually act as a solvent of some of the social restrictions. On the other hand the ascendancy—nay, the existence—of orthodox Hinduism depends upon the maintenance of those restrictions. Brahmanism—the "hereditary sacerdotalism" of our definition—must, if it is to survive, enforce rigid adherence to the doctrine of caste; and it is for this reason that we see in the India of to-day, side by side with an organized effort to spread the cult, from Benares, of the Vedanta philosophy, and to elevate the general tone of Hinduism, an ever-increasing determination, on the part of the younger members of the innumerable Brahman sects, to retain the social institution of caste in its most rigorous and exclusive form. And the strength of the orthodox position is very great. In a community in which, for more than 2,000 years, certain occupations have under a divine sanction, been allotted to certain hereditary castes, and involve pollution if performed by those of higher status, in which the Brahmanical claim to adjudicate upon what can and what cannot be done has, without question, been acquiesced in for an even longer period—in such a community it will be very many generations before the advance of the social community, and the rise of moral influences will establish the authority of morals as co-equal with that of theology.

### THE JAINS

The earliest of the reform scheme—earlier even than Buddhism—was organized in the sixth century B. C. Perhaps stimulated thereto by the degradation of the earlier Hinduism in contact with the Animism prevailing in India, a degradation countenanced by the Brahmans in pursuance of the principle of absorbing and including "all diversities of religion native to India," Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, rejected the divine authority of the Vedas and the sway of the Brahmans, and established a cult which, theoretically, disregarded caste distinctions, denied the existence of the Hindu gods, and (retaining the doctrine of transmigration) looked, not to the Hindu Nirvana, or individual absorption in the Universe, but to the attainment of perfection in all things, enjoyed without limit of time or space. In practice, however, the modern Jains are as rigorous in their insistence on the distinction of themselves as a caste, and upon the social limitation of other castes, as the most arrogant Brahmans.

### THE FAILURE OF BUDDHISM

Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, succeeded by his preaching and by the example of his life, in establishing a universal religion which alone has, for a time, superseded Hinduism throughout India. The abolition of caste was rather an incident to his teaching than a main objective. In spite of the purity of his doctrine, and of the appeal which its democratic character necessarily made to the masses of the subordinate castes, the cold logic of its agnosticism must have been far over the heads of the people.



## RELIGION AND CASTE

Securing the support of the rulers of India, Buddhism became, for some five or six centuries, the chief religion ; but as soon as it failed to retain kingly countenance it was again superseded by a Brahmanism which was adapted far better to the general needs and feelings of the public.

## THE DEAD-WEIGHT OF CUSTOM

As in the case of Buddhism and Jainism, the founders of the sects of the Lingayets and of the Sikhs expressly abjure the social institution of caste ; but, whereas this prohibition is still acted up to by the Sikhs, the Lingayets, under the weight of surrounding influences, ultimately developed sub-castes based upon social distinctions, and themselves, as a body, became a caste of the sectarian type, with all the concomitant restrictions and endogamous laws. The Shikhs are still untrammelled within their own sect by sub-castes ; but there appears to have been, of recent years, a tendency towards the recognition of social distinctions as affecting intermarriage. The fact is that the dead-weight of custom, operating with the ever-active and jealously fostered sanction of institutions whose divine origin has for so long been undisputed, lies upon the whole body politic, and has, as yet, been too strong for the reformers.

Human society, as it exists, has been less the care of the great thinkers of India than humanity in relation to the universal meaning of things. In the West expediency prevails, and the practical needs of the community are the touchstone of policy. In the East, philosophic theorizing usurps the place of tangible reform. Unfortunately, the mass of the population of India has not as yet achieved that social advancement which would enable it to voice its needs ; and so, while philosophers form sects and reformers initiate theories, the *vis inertiae* of a society unable to grasp the reasoning of their would-be saviours, backed by the authority of the orthodox sacerdotalism, nullifies all their efforts. No religion has, as yet, persisted and become a world force which has been too far in advance of the social development of the people among whom it has originated.

## THE MODERN MOVEMENTS

In our own time the Arya Samaj sect has arisen, under the leadership of Dayananda Saraswati. Its peculiar interest lies in the circumstance that it initiates, or at least has been an instrument in furthering, a *quasi*-national movement. In common with earlier reformers, the Arya Samajists endeavour to get rid of much of the later impurities of Hinduism and, while not specifically assailing the caste system, aim at certain other social reforms. For example they would raise the age at which girls should be married, and they permit the remarriage of widows. What distinguishes the Arya Samaj, however, more sharply from previous reform movements is its political tinge. It is avowedly a proselytizing movement, and appeals to all Hindus on a basis of assumed common nationality and it has organized itself into a strong educational association. There are many points at which it comes into collision with Brahmanical Hinduism—as, for example, in prohibiting the worship of idols and other similar ceremonials—and it yet remains to be seen how far it will receive Brahman support.



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### HINDUISM A SOCIAL SYSTEM

We have thus seen that Hinduism is a social system rather than a religious creed, but a social system which rests upon what is accepted as divine authority ; that the Brahmanical hierarchy which controls the system depends for its authority upon the maintenance of the social *status quo* ; and that the theory of transmigration affords a strong impetus to cling with determination to the caste system. Hinduism has shown its capacity for absorbing into itself all the indigenous religious beliefs, and for basing upon that absorption a further extension of its social structure. From time to time efforts have been made to free society from the shackles of caste and from the impurities with which Hinduism, in its process of expansion, has trammelled itself. But the sects formed with this object have in every instance, except perhaps that of the Sikhs, succumbed to the overwhelming influences surrounding them, and have become merely an addition to the innumerable sub-divisions into which the social fabric is split up. Finally, in our own period we find a movement set on foot whose hope of achieving a success more lasting than that of its forerunners lies not so much in the promotion of social advancement as in the inculcation of a national sentiment.

### ISLAM IN INDIA

It has been necessary to devote a greatly preponderating share of space to Hinduism, as compared with Mahomedanism and the other religions of India—not only because more than seven out of every ten persons are classifiable as Hindus, but also because it is, if Burma with its Buddhism be excluded, practically the only indigenous religion in the country, and must, if its meaning is to be appreciated at all, be examined in its aspect as a social system. Mahomedanism in India stands on an entirely different, and far more simple, footing. Though of course a foreign importation, forcibly thrust upon the conquered Hindu population so far as the power of the conquerors availed, Islam south of the Himalayas remains, to all intents and purposes, the same as it is in other parts of the world. It is true that a large proportion of the sixty odd millions of Mahomedans is racially Hindu, and that, as a consequence, the spirit of tolerance, so strongly characteristic of the Hindu, has modulated the original fire of proselytizing zeal ; and, save on some of those ceremonial occasions on which rites such as the sacrifice of kine, repugnant to Hinduism, are enjoined on the followers of the Prophet, Mahomedans and Hindus live peaceably and amicably side by side.

Although there is no technical difference between the faith of the Musulman in India, with his various sects, and the Musulman of Turkey, prolonged residence in India has resulted in producing a modification in the general outlook. It is usually assumed that, in some contingencies and for certain purposes, the world of Islam is a factor which must be considered whole and entire ; and there is, of course, substantial ground for this belief. Viewed in this light and if the assumption applied with the same force to the millions of his Majesty's Mahomedan subjects in India, these would in truth be a political problem of very serious import. The injunctions of the Koran requiring loyal obedience to temporal sovereignty, whether Musulman or otherwise, have, however, been widely taught



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and are generally accepted as requiring obedience ; and contact with Hinduism has served to temper some of the more ardent characteristics which we are accustomed to associate with the followers of Islam. At the same time, it would be idle to deny that, except in respect of private or tribal feuds, the Mahomedan does not like at the bidding of temporal rulers of another faith to take up arms against an Islamic State. Space precludes mention of the remaining religions of India.

### A MEDLEY OF CONTRADICTIONS

The dominant religion of India is, then, as we have seen, a curious medley of contradictions and paradoxes. Ranging between and embracing within its capacious fold, pagan Animism and the most cultured and refined Vedanta philosophy, exercising throughout this wide gamut a more direct and constant influence upon the lives of its votaries than is the case with most other religions, it is, nevertheless, an intricate social fabric rather than a theological creed. The Brahmanocracy, which originally erected the social system as a bulwark for its policy of absorption, now defends that system behind a zareba of Divine authorities, clinging tenaciously to caste ordinances as the very essence of its own ascendancy. Again, though his religion enters so intimately into the daily life of a Hindu, governing his going out and his coming in, his rising up and lying down, and the whole scheme of his daily routine, it has but a remote and indeterminate moral influence upon him. Though some of his scriptures inculcate moral precepts of the highest beauty, they contain no coherent and definite plan of communal life. Devised and interpreted by a priestly aristocracy, based upon the theory of an infinite series of re-births, and deriving "a certain measure of support from the social penalties imposed by the caste system," it has failed to create any code of common morality or patriotism. This failure is no doubt, in part due to the variety of nationalities and languages which chequer the surface of Indian society, but the conclusion seems irresistible that a common national or patriotic sentiment is incompatible with the ideals of Hinduism so long as it is hampered by a rigid doctrine of such fissiparous tendency as the social institution of caste. (*The Times*).

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### THE NEED FOR FURTHER REFORM

When considering the advance made under the British Government in India in the various branches of the administration, it is too often the practice to take it for granted that our responsibilities date back to the latter end of the 18th century, and that, therefore, the destinies of five or six generations of Indians have been under our control. In no department of public life is such an assumption more unfair than in the case of education. In the first place British India, as we now know it, hardly came into existence as an organic whole until the time of Lord Dalhousie, and, secondly, it was only a few years before the expiration of the Company's charter, and the direct assumption of the government of India by



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the Crown, that our responsibilities in the matter of education were susceptible of realization. It would, indeed, be fairer to say, rather, that it was only in the year 1839 that the British in India deliberately decided to go beyond the limits of their obvious responsibilities by undertaking a task which has no parallel in history. M. Chailley, in his admirable "Administrative Problems of British India," says, indeed, that "All colonizing nations are sooner or later faced with the problem of the education of the natives. It is a grave, a difficult, one may say a distressing, problem which cannot be evaded and which involves a conflict between interest and conscience." And he goes on to claim that "it is to the credit of the civilized peoples that in this conflict between interest and duty none of them has long remained deaf to the voice of honour."

**A COMPLEX PROBLEM**

In the case of India, however, it may be doubted whether M. Chailley was in a position to realize to the full the difficulty of the problem. There was hardly the antithesis of civilized *vers.* uncivilized peoples, which existed in the majority of the other countries, he no doubt had in mind. The complexity of the problem as it confronted the East India Company was enormously increased by the existence in India not only of a very old civilization, resting upon some of the highest philosophic teachings with which the world is as yet acquainted, but also of institutions of very long standing devoted to Oriental learning. It is true that nothing in the nature of general education had ever been organized or indeed thought desirable, by the governments in India which preceded ours; nay, education was, under the Hindu system, regarded as the close preserve of some of the higher castes, by no means to be invaded by those of the baser sort. But this fact, of course, added to the difficulties of initiating any scheme based on Western, and more democratic, ideas, while it also gave pause to those desirous of establishing an educational system on a broader basis, inasmuch as it appeared that any such innovation would tend to an infringement of the customs and traditions of the people.

**THE BEGINNINGS**

In such circumstances it is not strange to find that the earliest attempts in India to establish schools for general education were made by missionaries, a fact which in itself not improbably retarded action by the Company, one of whose principles, emphasized on the assumption of the government of India by the Crown in 1858, was the observance of a strict neutrality in regard to the religions of India. Apart from missionary institutions, such colleges as were established in the 18th century were for the promotion of Oriental learning: and the Charter Act of 1813, which required the expenditure of a lakh of rupees annually on education, may be said to be the first overt recognition by the rulers of the Company's territories of their responsibilities in this matter. With a growing demand for Indian clerical subordinates, literary attainments obtained a commercial value, while a knowledge of English ensured employment by the rulers of the country. The interests of the Company, it now began to be realized, also demanded the syste-



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matizing of education ; and in 1823 a Committee of Public Instruction was established for Bengal to organize matters on a proper footing. Similar arrangements followed for Madras, and, later, for Bombay, but before the organization of the educational machine had reached this stage, a most important decision was reached by the Government of Lord Auckland in 1839.

### THE INFLUENCE OF MACAULAY

Until 1835 the Company's government had halted between two opinions, and their hesitation and the delay in the expansion of education which it involved are an illustration of the wide difference between India and other conquered and colonized countries in relation to this problem. Had India been, in M. Chailley's phrase, uncivilized, there could have been no difficulty in deciding upon the nature of the educational system. We should have had a *tabula rasa* upon which to work, and the introduction of a Western system need have occasioned no hesitation. In view of Indian conditions, however, there was a strong body of opinion in favour of establishing a system of education based upon the methods we found in operation there, since it was held that these were more in conformity with the genius of the Hindu and would be less subversive of the social customs and traditions of the people. It was the strong personality of Lord Macaulay, at that time a member of the Governor-General's Council, which carried the day against the Orientalists and in favour of conferring upon India an education based upon English ideas. It is not necessary, indeed with our present knowledge it would be impossible, to agree with him in his low estimate of the value of Oriental learning and the ancient Hindu literature ; but there can be little doubt to-day that, in all essentials, the decision to which he led the Government of his day was the wise one.

### THE PRESENT SYSTEM

Education on Western lines came, then, gradually to be organized in all provinces, and considerable progress in organization had been made by local governments in India when, in 1854, Sir Charles Wood addressed to the Government of India the celebrated despatch which outlined and directed the adoption of the measures for improving the educational system which continue, in substance, in force to the present time.

The chief specific directions conveyed in this despatch, with a view to securing a much wider extension of English and vernacular education, included the establishment in each province of a separate department for the purpose ; the institution of Universities at the three Presidency towns ; the establishment of training schools for teachers ; the maintenance and further extension of colleges and high schools ; and increased attention to elementary education in the vernacular schools. Finally, Sir Charles Wood urged upon the Indian authorities the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid, anticipating (as results have proved, with too great confidence) that this would ultimately lead to the discontinuance of the need for a general system of education entirely provided by the State.

In the light of what has been said as to the traditions of the Hindus in respect of their social system and of education it will



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not be a surprise that the Indian community failed to respond to Sir C. Wood's expectations in the matter of primary education. Efforts at securing local support to the project tended to make the whole educational scheme unpopular, and it became clear that a policy which aimed at imparting primary instruction broadcast was not likely to secure the unqualified support of the higher castes. The suggestion was accordingly made, in conformity with the general plan which had been in operation for some time, that it would be more expedient to impose a special rate on land to defray the cost of elementary education, and this is the system now in force.

## THE COMMISSION OF 1882

The arrangements inaugurated in pursuance of the scheme outlined in the despatch of 1854, approved and supplemented by the Secretary of State for India in 1859, resulted in a very large expansion of education; and the results have come under observation and special inquiry in 1882 and again in 1901-4, during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. It became evident that elementary education was not receiving that share of State or local support to which it was entitled; and it was found necessary to lay down rules of a stringent character requiring local boards and municipalities to devote a fixed proportion of their educational expenditure to primary schools. The Commission of 1882 further urged the gradual transfer to local management, wherever possible without loss of efficiency, of secondary schools as well as primary.

## ATTITUDE OF THE HIGHER CASTES

It will be realized that the community into which we introduced the system, culminating in the directions given in 1854, was one differing both in its social customs, its past traditions, and its domestic organization from any other in Asia, and as far asunder from the Western communities as it is possible to conceive. On the one hand, in the hereditary, priestly and clerical castes of the highest degree of intelligence, in some cases highly educated, there existed, at the summit of the social organism, material which was ready to adapt itself to our requirements with almost marvellous promptitude. Accustomed, by hereditary right, to direct the domestic affairs of the lower castes, and frequently to exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, this class suddenly found that their road to influence and affluence lay in adapting themselves to an Occidental system of tuition. Full and prompt advantage was taken of the opening afforded. On the other hand, the submerged millions made a lamentably slow response to our invitation. The social fabric had never contemplated the education of the masses, nor had these ever experienced the need of it. The agriculturist and artisan classes had been accustomed from time immemorial to rely for such literary and mathematical skill as was occasionally needed in the pursuit of their callings upon a special class of the community. In a country where labour was not only meticulously subdivided, but where the subdivision formed exclusive social groups circumscribed and hedged about by marriage and other restrictive ordinances, it naturally took a long time for the new ideas to filter downwards. And meanwhile the aristocratic castes were profiting.



## THE BRAHMAN AND THE WRITERS

Two results ensued. In the first place, by the promptitude with which the Brahman and writer classes fell in with the new order of things they succeeded, to a large extent, in perpetuating to themselves a practical monopoly of the proffered educational advantages; and, in the second place, the practice grew up of looking upon these as the means to an assured end—*viz.*, employment by Government. In other words, the scheme of a Western education, designed to raise the masses of India from the depths of the ignorance in which they had remained content for ages, came to be an instrument in the perpetuation of the traditional social system of the Hindus. This was not, of course, a policy consciously pursued. It is merely an interesting instance of the persistence of an inbred characteristic. Unconsciously the special feature of the social system of the past two thousand years overrode the superficial tendencies of an imported scheme; and this fact explains to a considerable extent the failures to achieve desired results which successive investigations have brought to notice. The degree of our failure should not, however, be exaggerated.

In 1871 there were 19,646 primary and secondary schools in India, giving instruction to some 700,000 scholars. In 1908-9, the last year for which complete figures are accessible, the total number of scholars appears to have reached nearly six millions, the cost of educating them amounting approximately to £4,5000,00. Having regard to the tendencies adverse to the spread of general education already noted, these statistics cannot fairly be regarded as giving cause for despondency.

## LORD CURZON'S INQUIRIES

Lord Curzon, after he had been three years in India, and had thus obtained ample knowledge of the practical working of the educational methods pursued, was persuaded that the time had arrived to make a searching investigation into their defects, and to this end convened a strong and representative conference, over which he himself occasionally presided, whose deliberations covered practically every branch of the system. The first result to take shape was the appointment of a Director-General of Education, whose function was to be advisory, not only in relation to the central Government, but also to the provincial Administrations.

The second, and perhaps the most important result, was the appointment of the Universities Commission in 1902. It had long been felt not only that the Indian Universities, up till then purely examining bodies, had failed to influence general education in the right manner, but also that their constitution required amendment before improvement could be expected. The standard of qualification for the Senate of the Indian Universities was low, and the unlimited tenure of Fellowships tended to swell the body of Fellows without securing vigour to the administration. Again, the regulations governing the affiliation of colleges to the University were found to be faulty and to need revision. These and other matters formed the subject of specific recommendations for change by the Universities Commission, of whom five members were distinguished Indian educationists, and they were eventually embodied, in 1904, in a new Universities Act. The subjects of



technical and European education in India were dealt with at considerable length by the Conference of 1901, as were also questions relating to the improvement of normal schools and training colleges, the extension of primary and female education, the inculcation of moral training, &c. : and not the least significant of the remaining subjects were the discussions of the Conference on the subject of the abolition of competitive tests for Government employment.

The Conference deprecated a system which encouraged the idea that all educational tests were to be regarded as qualifications, more or less analogous to bills payable on demand, for Government service.

#### THE PRESENT POSITION

It is, unfortunately, open to question whether, in India as a whole, the policy of reform, of which the foundations were thus laid, has lately been prosecuted with the same vigour and determination. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the reforms in regard to the Universities were themselves sufficiently drastic. Endeavours made recently in Bombay to induce the University to modify its tests and to expand its curriculum so as to include technical subjects have hitherto failed to produce good results, and the Bombay Government have been compelled to rule out the lowest University test as a qualification for Government employment. Such conflicts seem to indicate that the ambition for complete self-government in matters of higher education has come into being prematurely, and while this idea has doubtless developed as the outcome of past policy, dating from the establishment of the three Presidency Universities in 1857, and from the hopes expressed in the despatch of 1854, it is clearly desirable, if progress is to be made on the right lines, that reforms, even if they should bear an outward semblance of being retrograde, should be enforced where necessary.

And it would be idle to contend that all is well in matters educational in India. As early as 1904, before overt symptoms of unrest had made themselves apparent, the Government of Lord Curzon, in reviewing educational progress, had to take cognizance of certain tendencies, "unfavourable to discipline," which criticism had attributed to the extension to India, without modification, of a system of education modelled upon that of the West; and the Government orders proceeded—correctly enough, so far as they went—to rule that the remedy for such tendencies must be sought not so much in any formal methods of teaching conduct by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers. The provision of proper persons as teachers is, of course, one of the most important—and in India, under present conditions, one of the most difficult—requisites as a condition precedent to the attainment of satisfactory results, and until the general condition of the subordinate educational staff is raised much above its present level, it will be unreasonable to hope for material improvement.

#### FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION

It is most important that this, perhaps the most urgent need of all, should be borne steadily in view, especially at a time when



the facile cry of free and compulsory primary education is being raised. The unreality of such a cry can best be appreciated when two facts are realized. First, four villages out of five (taking India as a whole) are without a school building or school staff, and it would therefore be impossible to make compulsory education a reality. In the second place, every province has a free list, and the free list is never full. It is the fact that not a single boy whose parents wish to have him educated is debarred from gratifying their desire by the existence of the very small fee which is levied. But even if the demand for abolition of all fees were a reality, there can be no question whatever, where the financial resources of Government are limited, between the relative importance of the unlimited provision of inadequately staffed primary schools and of placing existing schools upon a satisfactory footing. When assistant masters in village schools receive, as they did till quite recently in some provinces, pittance of Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per month, it is idle to talk of an unlimited expansion of primary education. Even now the lowest paid assistants receive not more than Rs. 8, except in Bombay, where the *minimum* salary has just been raised to Rs. 9.

But it is not only in the primary schools—nor even in the secondary schools—that the qualifications of the staff of the educational department are deficient. When a competent observer like M. Chailley remarks that the teaching staff in Indian colleges is far too small, he is criticizing the University which permits affiliation by an institution which is inadequately equipped, and, through the University, the Government, from whom the authority is derived; and when he proceeds:—"Nor does the quality of the teachers compensate for their numerical feebleness. On the contrary, defective quality is the weakest point in the college teaching," he, in effect, condemns the inadequacy of the Government control throughout.

#### RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING

A great deal of discussion has recently taken place regarding the secularization of Indian education, and there seems to be a growing conviction, among Indians and English alike, that the complete divorce of all religious and moral training from the curriculum has been an error which is in no small measure responsible for the recent unrest in India. It may be accepted as inevitable that the Government of India will endeavour to modify past policy in this respect, in so far as modification is possible with a strict regard to the observance of religious neutrality; but in no aspect of the education of youth is the provision of properly trained and qualified teachers more desirable than in that of ethics.

#### THE NEED FOR INSPECTION

Local autonomy in educational matters, as in many other departments of Indian administration, is a most desirable goal to have in view, and, with certain rigorous safeguards, the policy, advocated in 1854 and 1882 and since reiterated, of leaving the management of primary and secondary schools to the control of local boards and municipalities, is the one most likely to achieve permanent success. Absolute uniformity in educational matters in a continent like India, with its wide diversities of race and language, would be most undesirable even if it were possible. But there must be



the safeguard of inspectability. If in England there is such necessity for inspection by the Board of Education officials, how much more urgent is the need in India. And it is precisely in this department of the Government's past educational policy that there is need for criticism.

A hopeful sign is the renewed attention which is being accorded to the subject of education, and although the reforms which Lord Curzon initiated have perhaps not as yet been brought to complete fruition, and although the unrest in India may have diverted the attention of the authorities from the subject, it is to be hoped that it is realized what a close connexion exists between the two. If one cause, more than any other, can be said to account for the unrest it is the inherent defects in the stupendous scheme of giving a Western education to an Eastern people. It was inevitable that mistakes should be made; and it has been characteristic of us to shut our eyes to possible dangers. That the authorities in India are determined to grapple with the difficulties, and endeavour to find means of improvement, is evidenced by the recent creation of a Department of Education in separate charge of a member of the Viceroy's Council. That appointment, it is true, raises an apprehension that a most undesirable process of centralization may be pursued; but, provided that this tendency is rigorously resisted, there is ground for hoping that a persistent and logical effort will be made to see that the reforms advocated are gradually brought into being.

#### THE REFORMS REQUIRED

The vitalizing and strengthening of the Universities, which should be the inspiring mainspring of the system, must be carried into effect. The methods upon which the Indian Educational Service is recruited in England and organized in India should be carefully investigated and revised; and the strength of that service, both in the professorial and inspectorial branches, strengthened. The pay of the lower grades of the educational service should be revised throughout India so as to render it reasonable to expect that competent assistant masters will come forward to join the department; and the tests qualifying for admission should be so arranged as to afford some guarantee of their moral and educational fitness for their work. The curriculum should include such moral or religious teaching as may be desired in each province or locality; and the whole system throughout should be subjected to a more rigorous and real inspectorial control than is possible with the inadequate staff which is at present made to suffice.

Reforms such as these will cost a great deal of money, but they will achieve real results, and when the public instruction organized by the State upon Western lines has thus been revitalized, it will be time to consider the question of the further extension of the system by the adoption of free and compulsory elementary education. It has been impossible to deal at length with the important development of industrial and technical education; but the success of these depends in large measure upon the adoption of the progressive and enlightened attitude by the Universities which should follow upon what has been advocated. The germs of all these improvements are to be found in the resolutions of the



Conferences of 1882 and 1901, and in the orders of the Government of Lord Curzon in 1904; and it is now for the Government of India to falsify the apprehensions of those who feared that the reforms then initiated would remain a dead letter.

## INDIA THE INSCRUTABLE

An Imperial Exhibition was held in London in June last in connection with King George's Coronation. In this Festival of the Empire, held in the Crystal Palace, there was an Indian section, in which several Indian artisans and agriculturists demonstrated their art and skill before immense crowds of Englishmen. The following pen-picture contributed by Mr. James Douglas to the *Morning Leader* relates to this section of the Exhibition :—

The Indian craftsmen at work in the White City are fascinating creatures. It is hard to imagine that these strange, silent beings are sitting on their heels in London and not in a bazaar in Lucknow, or Agra, or Delhi, or Bombay. Their environment is fantastically Oriental. They are utterly isolated and separate from the life around them. They are not in any way blended with our civilisation. They are not melted into our life. They have not been corrupted by contact with our manners. The sharp flavor of the East is about them. They have nothing in common with us as we stand staring at them. They make no effort to pass over the gulf between their minds and ours. They have the loneliness and the aloofness of animals. They are quite sincerely indifferent to the stream of curiosity that flows turbidly round them.

They have not yet caught the air of exhibited beings. Their pose is an alien one. They are as they were a few weeks ago in their native city or village. It is we who are out of place and incongruous, for they have brought the spirit of India with them, and for the moment it resists the pressure of the new raw environment. Their garments make us furtively ashamed of our ugly and tight clothes. Their self-contained grace makes us blush at our awkward and clumsy movements. Their gentle harmony of physical calm arouses in us a doubt with regard to our superiority. Try as we may, we cannot feel that we are nobler products of a higher culture. They compel us to question the beauty and dignity of Western aims and ideals. They look like aristocrats who have strayed into a coarse and heavy society of vulgarians. It is a very preposterous thing, but beyond doubt these men and women make us feel vulgar. We are their rulers, their masters, their lords and gods, but they make us feel like serfs and slaves. It is only an illusion, but it is a very powerful one.

### AN EBON-BEARDED GOD

There is one man whose features are a wonder of delicate refinement. There is race in every curve. His silky beard, unlike most European beards, is as natural as the leaves on a tree. It is not a thicket for the concealment of weak or debased or hideous lineaments. Its black splendor enhances the clear beauty of his unblemished skin. He is not vain. He does not appear to be cons-



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cious of his amazing fineness. It is a part of his nobility that he is as naive as a little child. It is heart-breaking to contrast this superb creature with ourselves. He is fastidiously, but unostentatiously, clean, and ages of health seem to glow in his solemn eyes. There are no scars of vice on his skin. He looks like a thoroughbred—a human being as pure as a horse.

And yet he is only a cheap, common, ordinary, working man—even cheaper, commoner, more ordinary than our cheapest, commonest, and most ordinary. Why does our civilisation fail to breed masses of men like him? Is the fault in our food, or our beer, or our schools, or our bricks? Or is it a secret of the soul? Certainly this man's attitude to life is in some undecipherable fashion different from ours. As you study him, you divine a queer composure, a strange balance, a surprising symmetry in his personality. He looks a harmonious being with a settled, imperturbable, fixity of mood. But you cannot penetrate his unwrinkled impassivity. He is locked up in his fastness, and you cannot guess at his frame of mind. He is a mystery as inviolable as Bostock's snarling tigers hard by, and as violently beautiful. Whatever we may be, we are not as a race violently beautiful. I have no doubt that my ebon-bearded god thinks that we are masterpieces of ugliness.

### THE WEAVER

There is an old man, with grey splashet in his hair and beard, who toils tirelessly over an incredibly ancient handloom. He is weaving a beautiful shawl of many colors. Slender spindles, on which are wound silk threads of various hues, are strewn all round him. He peers at a strip of paper on which are inscribed strange cabalistic signs like an insane shorthand. Out of them he picks the intricacies of the pattern. He is hundreds of years behind the times. Time has no meaning for him. As you watch him you feel sure that he will never live to complete his task. But he is sublimely patient. The illimitable resignation of the East is in his eyes. Besides him a placid young man is writing out a design. A sheet of painted paper is before him, and he is translating its shapes and colors into the curls and twirls of some mysterious language. Generations of craftsmen have done this thing thus in India. Again you feel that time does not mean money in the East.

In another niche of the bazar you come upon a group of men who are gravely grinding precious stones on a disc fixed on a cylinder. The cylinder is made to revolve slowly by means of a bowstring. The long bow is drawn back and forward with dreamy deliberation. The wheel turns, the craftsman presses the gem against its edge, dips it in a bowl of water, and languidly glances at it. Here, again, you feel that you are gazing at a craft that was old before Clive and Warren Hastings were born. There are three hundred millions of these calmly unprogressive creatures in India. The marvels of machinery do not appear to thrill their breasts. They are content to be what they are and what their ancestors were. The thought is staggering. A horrid suspicion rears its head. Is it possible that machinery has not altered the nature of man? Are these child-like craftsmen abysmally inferior to our chain-makers, and potters, and cotton operatives?



## THE MOTHER AND THE CHILD

Even more bewildering are the soft-eyed women whose benignant faces vie with our Madonnas in their profound peace and serenity. One of them is a charming girl whose ears are bedizened with a medley of silver earrings. In her right nostril is a great silver circlet. Its circumference is as large as that of a breakfast cup. It is made of thin silver wire. She is exquisitely arrayed in delicate stuffs. She ought to seem grotesque, but actually she looks less ludicrous than some of the European women who are gaping at her in grinning astonishment. She is a finished and polished little being and she is utterly free from the slightest touch of the centuries. It is we, and not she, who are out of place.

There is one other very old thing in the bazaar. It is motherhood. A tiny little mother sits on her heels. By her side a tiny little baby, with eyes like stars, tries to stand on its small feet. The little mother babbles in some odd dialect to the little child. It babbles back to her. It laughs merrily in her eyes. It is a bald, toothless little morsel, but it has a perfection of limb that European babies of its size seldom possess. The little mother and the little child confirm one's doubts about Western civilisation. Even our aeroplanes do not help us to fly very far in advance of the little mother and the little child. Life is not a very subtle thing, after all. When we have done our best or our worst to sophisticate it, it beats us. In the West, as in the East, it resolves itself into those eternal simplicities, the little mother and the little child. Wise as we are, we are only beginning to stumble towards the discovery of that terrific platitude.

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## NOTES & NEWS

### GENERAL

#### Bengal Jails

The outstanding feature of Bengal Jails of the year 1910 from the administrative point of view says the Government resolution, was the reduction in the jail population, due to the good harvest of 1909-1910, the average daily number of prisoners being 13,163 as against 15,065 in 1909.

#### Education in Mysore

The Government Review on the report of the Inspector-General of Education in Mysore for 1909-10 shows that the number of Public Institutions increased from 2,367 to 2,416 and that the number of pupils in them increased from 113,251 to 113,785. But there was a falling-off in the number and strength of private institutions, and as a consequence the total number of schools decreased from 4,310 to 4,292 and the attendance from 139,008 to 137,729. The percentage of boys under instruction to the male population of school-going age decreased from 28.48 to 28.06 while the percentage of girls to the female population of school-going age increased from 5.29 to 5.4. But the point that is most noteworthy is that in this Premier Hindu State only 15 per cent. of the Hindu boys are under instruction while 46.46 per cent. of Mahomedans, 58.8 per cent. of Indian Christians and 78.74 of Europeans and Eurasians are benefiting from the liberal expenditure incurred by the Government. The State expended Rupees 18.38 lakhs in all on education which come to or 5.01 per cent. of its total revenues.

#### Educational Progress in Baroda

From the report on Public Instruction in the Baroda State, for the year 1909-10, which has just been issued it appears that there were in all 2,875 educational institutions in the State at the close of the year, as against 2,832 in the previous year. Of these 2,875 institutions, one is an Arts College, 3 are High Schools, 25 Anglo-Vernacular schools, 12 grant-in-aid schools, 1 Princes' School and the rest 2,833 purely Vernacular schools. The number of pupils in all these institutions was 1,71,117 as against 1,79,383 in 1908-09. The total expenditure on Education amounted to Rs. 13,45,988-10-8 of which the share of State was Rs. 11,66,015-14-11 and that borne by the Local Boards Rs. 1,79,922-11-9. The receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 1,40,379-0-10. Compared with the previous year's figures there was an excess of Rs. 85,293 in expenditure on education and the average cost per pupil rose from Rs. 8-1 to Rs. 8-12. Roughly speaking, the State spent more than one-fourth of its gross revenue on Education.

#### Cinchona in Madras

The report on the administration of the Government Cinchona Department in the Nilgiris, has been published. At the end of the



year under review the total area under Cinchona, both young and old, amounted to 1,257.24 acres, of which 817.05 acres consisted of young plants. There were 455.37 acres of fuel trees making a total of 1,712.61 acres. The total bark crop was 214,797 lbs. As compared with 1909-10 and with the average of the last five years, this figure is disappointing. The crop obtained from cultivation was supplemented by 948,075 lbs. of purchased bark, of which 460,300 lbs. were purchased from planters in India and the rest in the Amsterdam market. As compared with previous years the total quantity of bark worked up in the factory was greater, the figure for the year under review being 736,500 lbs. The yield of quinine was 26,750 lbs. or 3.63 per cent. against 4.01 per cent. in the previous year. The expenditure on the plantation was about Rs. 65,000 or Rs. 5,000 more than in the previous year. The profit and loss account shows a loss of Rs. 37,689-9-4. The cost per pound of the manufactured product inclusive of all charges was Rs. 9-3-0 as compared with Rs. 7-12-5 for the previous year. It should be remembered that the government have since February last prescribed a higher standard of purity for the quinine manufactured. During the year no febrifuge was manufactured. The quantity of quinine issued was 27,686 lbs. as against 21,965 lbs. in the previous year.

### A New Treaty with Bhutan

The following is the text of the treaty made between the Government of India and Bhutan :

(1) The British Government shall on demand being duly made in writing by the Bhutan Government take proceedings in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Extradition Act 1904 (of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bhutan Government) for the surrender of all Bhutanese subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the first Schedule of the said Act who may take refuge in the British territory.

(2) The Bhutan Government shall on requisition being duly made by the Government of India or by any officer authorised by the Government of India in this behalf surrender any British subject or subjects of a foreign Power whose extradition may be required in pursuance of any agreement or arrangements made by the British Government with the said power accused of any of the crimes specified in the first Schedule of Act 15 of 1903 who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bhutan Government and also any Bhutanese subjects who after committing any of the crimes referred to in the British territory shall flee into Bhutan on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the local Court of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

### Moral Text-Books in Bombay

The Bombay Government have issued a resolution stating that it has under consideration the question of preparing hand-books of moral lessons for the use of the teachers in the Educational Department in the Bombay Presidency. Most books available on the subject are based on western materials and modes of thought. It was therefore necessary to accumulate a stock of illustrative materials from Indian sources. Mr. R. E. Enthoven was deputed



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by the Government to undertake the work, while on leave in England, last year and to continue it on his return to India. That officer has prepared two volumes of material, after making enquiries and consulting the experts of authority on educational questions. The first volume contains extracts, drawn mainly from Indian sources and intended for the use of the teachers in the primary and Anglo-Vernacular schools. The second volume contains material suitable to pupils in the High Schools. The volume will provide the teachers with a store of well selected illustrations, but the actual lesson will have to be the teacher's own work. The Governor in Council is of opinion, that it is not desirable to publish lessons in the form in which they are to be given, as this would inevitably lead to their being read aloud in a dull and lifeless manner, little likely to interest a class for more than the opening sentences. A special Committee has been appointed to examine the hand-books and to report whether they are suitable with or without modifications for the use in the manner indicated. A series of vernacular readers already contains a number of lessons dealing with the moral virtues such as honesty, truthfulness, courage, thrift, etc., interspersed throughout.

### The Expansion of Indian Land Revenue

What a marvellous story does the following table reveal regarding the wonderful expansion and growth of the Indian land revenue from 1869 to the current year:—

1869	...	19'9	1891	...	24'0
1870	...	21'1	1892	...	24'0
1871	...	20'6	1893	...	24'9
1872	...	20'5	1894	...	25'6
1873	...	21'3	1895	...	25'4
1874	...	21'0	1896	...	26'2
1875	...	21'3	1897	...	24'0
1876	...	21'5	1898	...	25'7
1877	...	19'5	1899	...	27'5
1878	...	19'6	1900	...	25'8
1879	...	22'0	1901	...	26'2
1880	...	21'9	1902	...	27'4
1881	...	21'1	1903	...	27'6
1882	...	21'9	1904	...	28'8
1883	...	21'9	1905	...	28'3
1884	...	22'4	1906	...	28'2
1885	...	21'9	1907	...	29'7
1886	...	22'6	1908	...	28'0
1887	...	23'1	1909	...	29'7
1888	...	23'2	1910	...	32'0
1889	...	23'0	1911	...	31'5
1890	...	24'0			

### H. M's. Mints

The annual Resolution of the Government of India on the working of the Mints at Calcutta and Bombay during the year 1909-10 has been issued, which shows that the total value of gold tendered was Rs. 11,72,57,685. The receipts included 199,871 sovereigns of the value of Rs. 29,98,065 tendered at the Calcutta Mint by the Paper Currency Office, Calcutta. The direct receipts from the public, therefore, amounted in value to Rs. 11,42,59,620.



exceeding the figures of all previous years since 1904-05, and showed an increase of about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  crores over the receipts in 1908-09. This large increase was due to the revival of export trade which followed the depression of the previous year. The total value of silver coinage represented Rs. 21,75,56,166. The work was confined to the recoinage of 1835 and 1840 rupees and uncurrent coin and the outturn of rupees was less than that of previous year by nearly 44 lakhs. No quarter-rupee pieces were coined during the year. During the year 5,954,218 British dollars of the nominal value of Rs. 1,35,10,675 were coined at the Bombay Mint against 6,870,741 British dollars of the nominal value of Rs. 1,55,90,338 in the previous year. The Bombay Mint also coined 11,088,198 ten-cent and 3,263,915 five-cent. pieces for the Singapore Government. 24,800,000 nickel one-anna pieces of the nominal value of Rs. 14,08,50,000 were coined at the Bombay Mint during the year 1909-10 as compared with 22,536,000 pieces of the nominal value of Rs. 14,08,500 in 1908-09. The net gain on the nickel coinage which passed into circulation amounted to Rs. 1,43,88,629 against Rs. 11,11,336 in the preceding year. The bronze coinage of the year consisted of pice, half-pice, and pie pieces of the aggregate value of Rs. 5,98,720. The aggregate value of the coinage in 1908-09, including pice of the value of Rs. 3,500, coined for the Sailana Durbar, was Rs. 11,03,958. The copper coinage comprised cents and half cents of the value of Rs. 35,000 executed for the Ceylon Government. During the year under review there was a net loss of Rs. 7,42,899 on bronze and copper coinage against Rs. 10,71,185 in the preceding year. The loss was due partly to the return of a large number of coins from circulation and partly to the special steps taken during the year for the withdrawal of worn copper coins for conversion into bronze.

### Irrigation in India

The Government Review on irrigation works in India for the year 1909-10 shows that the length of productive works increased from 40,820 miles to 45,755 miles. Of this increase 902 miles occurred in the United Provinces chiefly in connection with the Agra Canal and Eastern Jumna Canal; 152 miles in the Punjab due to the inclusion of Sirhind Canal; and 344 miles in Madras in the Lower Coleroon anicut system. The gross revenue increased from 5.20 crores to 5.26 crores in spite of a falling-off in the demand for water owing to timely and well distributed rainfall. But the percentage of net revenue on capital outlay decreased from 8.25 to 8.20 chiefly owing to the adverse influence of the Karnul Canal, the 'net profit' from which is represented by a minus quantity. The Punjab Canals, including branches in the Native States, irrigated upwards of 6 million acres out of a total of  $14\frac{1}{4}$  millions. The return on capital is the highest in the Punjab, being 12.78 per cent as compared with 12.58 in the preceding year. There would have been an increase both in the area irrigated and in the percentage of yield but for the marked falling-off on the Western Jumna, Upper Bari Doab and Sirhind Canals, due to good and timely rainfall in the tracts served by these systems. This deficiency was more than counterbalanced by increases in the Lower Chenab, Lower Jhelum, and Sidhnai systems. The Lower Chenab alone irrigated nearly  $2\frac{1}{4}$  million acres and earned a gross revenue of 1.01 crore representing an



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increase of 11 and 20 per cent respectively upon the figures of the preceding year. The Government resolution says that this is the first time in the history of irrigation in India in which a single canal irrigated in one year more than two million acres and earned a revenue of more than a crore of rupees. The working expenses on the Indus Inundation Canals have exceeded the gross revenue and the excess is attributed to the serious damage caused by floods. No other Province, not even the U. P., gives so cheerful an account. In the last named Province the largest area irrigated by a single canal, namely, Ganges Canal, was 914,532 acres, which was less than the area irrigated by the Upper Bari Doab Canal (982,773 acres). The Ganges Canal with a gross revenue of 46.68 lakhs yielded a net revenue of 9.88 per cent on capital outlay. But the Upper Bari Doab Canal with a gross revenue of only 38.45 lakhs yielded 11.80 per cent on the capital outlay. That shows the difference in the cost of maintenance on the two systems. In the United Provinces the maintenance charges of 13.165 miles of canal consume more than 35 per cent. of the gross revenue whereas in the Punjab those charges in respect of 14,133 miles of canals amount to 30 per cent. of the gross revenue including the heavy expenses due to the damages caused by floods on the Indus Inundation Canals. This is a matter which requires investigation, especially as the percentage of the cost of operation to the gross revenue is as low as 26 in Madras for a total of 11,213 miles.

## COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

### Yarn spun in India

The quantity of yarn spun in British India in the month of April this year was 42,536,805 pounds against 48,156,048 lbs. in the same month last year and 56,065,655 lbs. in April 1909. Of this, by far the largest share went to Bombay as usual, 31,936,852 being spun in that Presidency, and the United Provinces came off a puny and limping second with 2,780,191 lbs.

### The Maritime Trade of East Bengal

The maritime trade of Eastern Bengal and Assam during 1910-1911 showed an increase of 11½ lakhs over the trade of 1909-1910, and reached an aggregate of 660½ lakhs. The increase was due to the foreign trade which advanced by nearly 14 lakhs, whereas the coasting trade declined by Rs. 2,39,000.

## BANKING NOTES

### Bank of Burma

The net profit of the Bank of Burma, Ltd., for the half-year ending 30th June, 1911, is Rs. 1,26,514-4-8. To this has to be added Rs. 35,763-7-9 brought forward from 31st December, 1910, making a total of Rs. 1,62,277-12-5 available for distribution. The directors have decided to declare an *ad interim* dividend at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum free of income-tax for the half-year just ended—absorbing Rs. 61,687-8—to place to the reserve fund Rs. 75,000, (making this fund Rs. 5,75,000) and to carry forward Rs. 25,590-3-5.



## NOTES & NEWS

### Bank of Bombay

The total earnings of the Bank of Bombay for the half-year ending 30th June, 1911, comes to Rs. 14,74,635, including Rs. 3,76,050 brought forward from last half-year. Out of this the directors resolved to pay a dividend at the rate of thirteen per cent., and a bonus of two per cent, *i.e.*, Rs. 37-8 per share to shareholders. Rs. 1,00,000 is devoted to the reserve fund ; Rs. 35,000 to the premises account ; Rs. 65,000 for bonus to staff and pension fund ; and the balance, Rs. 5,24,635, is to be carried forward.

### Bank of Madras

The Bank of Madras during the half-year ending 30th June, 1910, made a net profit of Rs. 7,25,104. The sum of Rs. 152,843 was brought forward from the previous half-year. Rs. 2½ lakhs have been added to the reserve fund which now amount to Rs. 52 lakhs Rs. 25,000 has been added to the premises account, and it has been decided to pay dividend at the rate of 16 per cent. per annum and a bonus of one per cent.

### Bank of Simla

The Alliance Bank of Simla have had a record year for the twelve months ending 30th June 1911, the profits being in excess of any previous year. The net profits, including the balance brought forward from last year, amount to Rs. 4,58,398. The directors propose a dividend and bonus making 14 per cent. to shareholders, which absorbs Rs. 2,80,000. Fifty thousand rupees are added to the reserve fund, Rs. 25,000 to the contingency fund, a bonus of one month's pay to the staff, and the balance to be carried forward.

### Bank of India, Limited

The net profit of the Bank of India, Limited, for the half-year ending 30th June 1911, amounts to Rs. 3,83,469-9-0, including the sum of Rs. 1,31,659-14-8 brought forward. The directors have resolved to declare an ad-interim Dividend at the rate of six per cent. per annum, free of Income Tax on the paid up capital of 50 lacs which will absorb Rs. 1,50,000, and to carry forward the balance, Rs. 2,33,469-9-0 to the next account.



## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### PROTECTION IN INDIA

Some time ago the Hon'ble Mr. A. Chatterton of Madras read an interesting paper on Protection at a meeting of the South Indian Association. This paper has been duly published in the last number of the journal of that Association. Mr. Chatterton is of opinion that Protection is not responsible for keeping Indian industries in a backward condition. According to him, the causes of industrial failure in India lie deeper. Says he :—

“The people of this country do not possess, or at any rate possess only in a very limited degree, the essential qualities which make for success along modern industrial lines. . . . The social system of the country does not favour individualism; the East and the West are as far asunder as the poles in their ideals of life: the influence of an enervating climate operates powerfully against the strenuousness which is essential to commercial success, and there is the influence of heredity extended over twenty centuries and one hundred generations—all these are factors which cannot be eliminated by a sudden change in environment or by external pressure, however great it may be.”

Mr. Chatterton would not only not give us protection, but he can not even concede that India can claim to be regarded as a separate entity in fiscal matters. It is needless to say that we differ from him in this matter and by doing so, we are in very good company. For it is well known that recently Lord Minto has declared himself decidedly in favour of protection in India and said that he did not know how industries could be developed in India without something like Tariff Reform. However, we reproduce below the leading points of Mr. Chatterton's paper.

“At the outset our cry for protection is something like a cry in the wilderness which will never be heeded to, and that, more for the interests of India than for anything else. It is inconceivable that British statesmen will ever voluntarily agree to the erection of artificial barriers to the freedom of trade, between England and India, to which the present material and industrial progress of India are so largely due. . . . The true interests of India lie in preserving the existing state of affairs. There is no likelihood



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that the cry for protection will fall on willing ears, and no prospect whatever that it will be granted."

But supposing that protection were granted to us it would defeat its purpose in India. It is idle to expect, says he, that "in India where custom and conservatism yet rule supreme, where millions are wedded to their fields and are still in the agricultural state, sufficient labour will be forthcoming to work the industrial and factory system which a protective policy will give birth to." With the masses illiterate and immobile, labour unskilled and inefficient, unambitious and unenterprising, capital lacking and shy and organization unknown, "it is a fallacy," says Mr. Chatterton, "to think that the adoption of a protective policy will change all this and be followed up by a rapid development of Indian industries on a purely indigenous basis, that is to say, with Indian capital and through the agency of Indian brains."

According to Mr. Chatterton even if protection were desirable Indians are not ready for it. He says:—"There is no fund of capital-seeking remunerative investments. Industrial leaders with technical skill and business experience are non-existent and the operative labour could only be obtained with difficulty and would require training from the beginning. You might exclude British manufactures, but you cannot exclude the British manufacturer. A protective tariff would compel him to start in India and stimulated by the inflated prices which he would be able to obtain within the protected zone, there can be but little doubt that with his energy and business experience he would overcome the initial difficulties due to lack of local knowledge. Managers, foremen and workmen would be sent out to India, native labour would be trained and mills, workshops and factories set going. All posts of responsibility would be in European hands. India would have an industrial system, but it would be no source of profit to her and it would certainly not furnish the educated classes with occupations of a superior character, the need of which had led them to cry out for industrial development." It has been argued that this would be so at first, but that the Indian would shortly mend his ways and oust the European. If this, says Mr. Chatterton, were likely to happen it might be worth while paying the price to get the initial result done, but according to him "there is very little evidence that such would be the result."

Mr. Chatterton says that the economic salvation of India does not lie in "bolstering up an artificial industrial system for which India is ill fitted by her education and custom, but in the develop-



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ment of her internal agricultural resources. And this is to be achieved by a wide distribution of education—by education alone, not by protection. What India wants is education rather than a fiscal reform." Let suitable measures be taken to spread education, encourage thrift, assist enterprise and develop the faculty of cooperation in which the future of India lies, and the economic problem of India will be half solved. "The cry for protection is, I hold, a mistaken attempt to force the country into a course of action for which it has but few natural facilities and for which it possesses little inclination or aptitude. The land is fully occupied, but only half developed, and there is ample scope for constructive statesmanship of the highest order, in dealing with the innumerable problems in connection therewith which present themselves for solution. Work along these lines is progress, and it will better serve the interests of India than a hopeless agitation for a change in fiscal policy which in the long run is likely to prove an intolerable burden."

Mr. Chatterton corroborates his remarks by a reference to how the sugar industry is flourishing in Madras without protection and in the teeth of foreign competition of the keenest kind. If sugar industry pays in Madras while it does not in the other Presidencies, it is not because there is protection in Madras but because the usual difficulties which make the industry a failure have been obviated in Madras by advanced economic and scientific methods. Lack of capital to cultivate the crop which requires heavy manuring have been met by co-operative credit. The primitive method of extracting the juice by a crude process has given place to modern methods of extraction by machinery, the installation of which co-operative enterprise has made possible. The risks from pest, blight and disease to which the canes are subject have been minimised, if not altogether overcome, by improved methods of manuring and cultivation. The lack of water for irrigation has been met by an extension of the use of mechanical methods of lifting water *e.g.*, by pumps, which are four times more economical than the primitive water-lifting by cattle power. And the ignorance and apathy of the ryots have been dispelled by the spread of education. Protection was specially asked for in the case of this industry but all this, according to Mr. Chatterton, is proof positive "that it is not protection that is the remedy, but the vigorous exploitation of the industry on a wellconsidered scientific plan."



## EAST AND WEST IN INDIA

We gladly make room below for the leading points of the very interesting and illuminating paper which Mr. Gokhale has prepared to be read before the Universal Races Congress which met in London on the 26th July last and subsequent days :—

With the commencement of the twentieth century, the relations between the East and the West may be regarded as having entered on a new phase. The traditional view, so well expressed by the poet, of the changeless and unresisting East, beholding with awe the legions of the West, as they thundered past her, bowing low before the storm, while the storm lasted, and plunging back again in thought, when the storm was over, seemed for centuries to encourage—almost invite—unchecked aggression by Western nations in Eastern lands, in utter disregard of the rights or feelings of Eastern peoples. Such aggression, however, could not go on for ever, and the protest of the Eastern world against it, as evidenced by the steady growth of a feeling of national self-respect in different Eastern lands, has now gathered sufficient strength and volume to render its continuance on old lines extremely improbable, if not altogether impossible. The victories of Japan over Russia, the entry of Turkey among constitutionally-governed countries, the awakening of China, the spread of the national movement in India, Persia and Egypt, all point to the necessity of the West revising her conception of the East—revising also the standards by which she has sought in the past to regulate her relations with the East.

The problem—how to ensure “a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation” between the East and the West—so difficult, everywhere, is nowhere else so difficult and so delicate as it is in India. In the case of other countries, the contact of the West with the East is largely external only ; in India the West has, so to say, entered into the very bone and marrow of the East.

It is recognised on all sides that the relations between Europeans and Indians in India have grown greatly strained during the last quarter of a century. And yet Englishmen started with uncommon advantages in India. The establishment of British rule, so far from being resented, was actually regarded with feelings of satisfaction, if not enthusiasm, by the people over the greater part of the country. This was due to the fact that with all her contribution to human progress in many fields, religion, philosophy, literature, science, art—a contribution, which the world is coming to recognise more and more every day, and of which Indians may



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well remain proud for all time—India did not develop the national idea or the idea of political freedom as it has been developed in the West. Who exercised the sovereign authority was to her people a minor matter, as long as it was well exercised and did not seriously interfere with their religious, social, or communal life. And it cannot be denied that in many essential respects, the standards of government of the new rulers compared favourably with those of the indigenous powers that were then struggling for supremacy in the land. The advantageous start thus secured was further improved by the liberal declarations of wise and far-seeing statesmen, made from time to time in those early days, as regards the policy in accordance with which the affairs of this country were to be administered.

The educated community began firmly to believe that it was England's settled policy to raise steadily their political status till at last they fully participated in the possession of those free institutions, which it is the glory of the English race to have evolved. This belief, so strong at one time, began, however, gradually to weaken, when with the rise of the new Imperialism in England, during the last quarter of a century, new and clearer signs became visible of a disinclination on the part of the ruling nation to carry into effect the policy to which it stood committed. Suspicion was followed by surprise, by disappointment, by anger, and these inevitably produced a rapidly-rising anti-English feeling, which especially affected the younger minds throughout the country. The steady growth of the anti-English feeling in the country was recognised by all thoughtful persons to be fraught with a serious menace to the cause of peaceful progress and the outlook was undoubtedly very dark, when English statesmanship came to the rescue and by granting to the country a measure of constitutional reform, sufficiently substantial to meet the more pressing requirements of the day, helped largely to ease the tension and restore a more friendly feeling between the two sides.

Here Mr. Gokhale, however, does not voice the popular opinion on the subject, and we are bound to enter our protest against the misleading statement that the recent reforms of the Councils have "eased the tension and restored a more friendly feeling between the two sides." Far from it, but it is no good entering into a controversy with Mr. Gokhale on a subject in which he has already been associated very intimately with official opinion.

There is no doubt whatever, continues Mr. Gokhale, that the reform measures of two years ago arrested the growing estrangement between Europeans and Indians in India, and since then the situa-



tion has undergone a steady and continuous change for the better. So marked is this change over the greater part of the country that there are many who hold that the desire to understand each other and respect each other's feelings and susceptibilities was never so great as it is at the present moment. For how long these relations will thus continue to improve, and whether they will again tend to grow worse, and if so, when, are questions more difficult to answer. It is well to remember that certain causes are constantly at work to produce misunderstandings and make harmonious relations between the two sides of a matter of considerable difficulty. Thus the differences in temperament, the natural predisposition to look at questions from different standpoints, the tone habitually adopted by a section of the Press, both English and Indian, these make a demand on the patience of either side, which it is not always easy to meet. Then there are those cases of personal ill-treatment—cases in which Indians are found to suffer insult and even violence at the hands of individual Englishmen, for no other reason than that they are Indians. These are, so to say, among the standing factors of the situation; they must, I fear, be accepted as inevitable, at any rate, in the present circumstances of the country. But even these are not all. The real sources of trouble, which invest the future with uncertainty, lie much deeper. Is British rule to remain a rigidly foreign rule, as long as it lasts, or will it conform more and more to standards which alone may be accepted in these days as compatible with the self-respect of civilized people? What is to be the objective of England's policy in India? How is the conflict of interest between the two communities to be reconciled and what sacrifices may be reasonably expected from either side to render such reconciliation a living and potent reality? These and other allied questions, which really go to the root of England's connection with India, have to be answered before any prediction about the probable future of the relations between the Englishmen and Indians in India can be hazarded. The opinion is often expressed that if only Indians and Europeans will mix more largely socially, or if Indians will participate in the games and sports of Englishmen in greater numbers, a better understanding between the two sides will be established, resulting in better relations generally. There is a certain amount of truth in this. But apart from the fact that such freer intercourse, unless it is restricted to individuals on either side, who are anxious to see each other's good points and are tolerant to each other's weaknesses, may produce difficulties of its own. I am firmly persuaded that as long as



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the consciousness of political inequality continues to be behind such intercourse, it cannot carry us far. The soul of social friendship is mutual appreciation and respect, which ordinarily is not found to co-exist with a consciousness of inequality. This does not mean that where equality does not exist, the relations are necessarily unfriendly. It is not an uncommon thing for a party which is in what may be called a state of subordinate dependence on another to be warmly attached to that other party. But such relations are only possible, if the subordinate party, assuming, of course, that its sense of self-respect is properly developed, is enabled to feel that its dependent state is necessary in its own interest and that the other party is taking no undue advantage of it for other ends. And this, I think, is roughly the position, as between India and England. It must be admitted that the present inequality between Englishmen and Indians, as regards their political status, can only be reduced by degrees and that a considerable period must elapse before it is removed altogether. Meanwhile Indians must be content to continue in a position of subordinate dependence, and the extent to which "a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation" can be promoted between them and Englishmen, must depend upon how they are enabled to realize that British rule is necessary for their progress and that British policy in India has no other aim than their advancement. Any doubt on this point in the Indian mind will mean the weakening of the tie which binds the two countries and will not fail in the end to nullify the results of the most beneficent administrative measures. Assured on this point, on the other hand, Indians will not allow even serious administrative mistakes to alienate them in feeling or sympathy from the country, under whose sway they find themselves placed and with whose guidance they hope to advance to their appointed destiny.

The political evolution to which Indian reformers look forward is representative government on a democratic basis. The course of this evolution must necessarily be slow in India, though it need not be as slow as some people imagine. It is unnecessary to say that it is largely in England's power to hasten or delay this evolution. I think the time has come when a definite pronouncement on this subject should be made by the highest authority entitled to speak in the name of England, and the British Government in India should keep such pronouncement in view in all its actions. There is a class of thinkers and writers among Englishmen, with whom it is an axiom that Oriental people have no desire, at any



rate, no capacity for representative institutions. This cool and convenient assumption is not standing the test of experience, and in any case no self-respecting Indian will accept it; and it is astonishing that those men who thus seek to shut the door in the face of Indian aspirations, do not realize how thereby they turn the Indian mind against those very interests for whose support they probably evolve their theories. The first requisite then of improved relations on an enduring basis, between Englishmen and Indians, is an unequivocal declaration on England's part of her resolve to help forward the growth of representative institutions in India and a determination to stand by this policy, in spite of all temptations or difficulties. The second requisite is that Indians should be enabled to feel that the government under which they live, whatever its *personnel*, is largely and in an ever-increasing measure *national* in spirit and sentiment and in its devotion to the moral and material interests of the country. Thus, outside India, Indians should feel the protecting arm of the British Government behind them, ready to help them in resisting oppression and injustice. The monstrous indignities and ill-treatment to which the people of this country are being subjected to in South Africa have aroused the bitterest resentment throughout the land. On the other hand, the recent action of the Government of India in prohibiting the supply of indentured labour from this country to Natal, has evoked a feeling of deep and wide-spread satisfaction, which cannot fail to have its effect on the general relations between Europeans and Indians in the country. Among matters bearing on the moral and material well-being of the people, the Government should lose no more time now in dealing with education in all its branches, in a national spirit—especially with mass education and technical education. The third requisite, on which it is necessary to insist, is that England should send out to India less and less of those who are not of her best. It should be realized that though the Indian average is still inferior to the English average and will continue to be so for some time, individual Indians are to be found in all parts of the country, who, in character, capacity and attainments, will be able to hold their own anywhere. And when Englishmen, inferior to such men, are introduced into the country and placed in higher positions, a sense of unfairness and injustice comes to pervade the whole Indian community, which is very prejudicial to the cultivation or maintenance of good feeling. Fewer and better men sent out from England, better paid if necessary, will prevent England's prestige from being lowered in India, and this, in present circumstances, is



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a consideration of great importance. The fourth and last requisite that I would like to mention is the extreme necessity of such Englishmen as come out to this country realizing the profound wisdom of the advice, urged on them some time ago by Lord Morley, that while bad manners are a fault everywhere, they are in India "a crime."

Mr. Gokhale concludes his paper thus :—

The only safe thing that any one can say about the future of India is that it is still enveloped in obscurity. But I believe wholeheartedly in a great destiny for the people of my land. We still retain many of those characteristics which once placed us in the van of the world's civilisation—the depth of our spirituality, our serene outlook on life, our conceptions of domestic and social duty. And other races that have from time to time come to make their home here have brought their own treasure into the common stock. The India of the future will be compounded of all these elements, reinforcing one another, but a long process of discipline and purification and real adjustment is necessary, before she gathers again the strength required for her allotted task. In this work of preparation, it has been given to a great Western nation to guide and help her. And if craven or selfish counsels are not allowed to prevail, England will have played the noblest international part that has yet fallen to the lot of humanity. When the men and women of India begin again to grow to the full height of their stature and proclaim to the world the mission that shall be theirs, a great stream of moral and spiritual energy, long lost to view, will have returned to its channel, and East and West, white and dark and yellow and brown—all have cause alike to rejoice.

How we wish that, instead of devoting the bulk of the paper to a discussion of political issues, Mr. Gokhale had given us his mind regarding the moral and social lessons that Englishmen in India have taught us and which Indians have tried their best to give to their rulers in vain.

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### INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

Sometime ago a highly interesting and informing paper on the Indian Currency Policy was read by Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., M.A., at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, under the auspices of the East Indian Association. This address has now been published in the current number of *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. To compress into a half-a-dozen pages an article



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covering over fifty pages on such a stiff subject as currency is rather a difficult task. However, we try to give below a brief outline of Sir James Wilson's paper, leaving our readers to refer to the original article for all details :—

Until 1893 the currency in India was based on silver, and the unit of currency and of values was the rupee, weighing 180 grains, about the 92 p. c. of the metal of which it is composed being silver and about 8 p. c. alloy. Until 1893 the coinage of silver into rupees at the Indian Mints was free, and it necessarily followed that the value of a bar of silver was nearly the same as that of an equal weight of rupees.

The currency of the United Kingdom on the other hand is based on gold, the unit being the sovereign which contains eleven-twelfths of pure gold and one-twelfth of alloy.

Now, in the case of the two countries intimately connected as England and India are, one using gold and the other silver, the course of trade and of all monetary transactions must be considerably affected by fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver. Still more important must those fluctuations be to a State which owes a debt payable in gold, while its income is mainly in silver. It is, therefore, necessary to see what, in fact, have been the changes in the exchangeable value of gold and silver. The rate between gold and silver has changed from time to time. The change has been most rapid in the last 20 years. In 1890 an ounce of gold could purchase 19 ounces of silver. Now it can purchase about 38. This means that *in the last 20 years gold has doubled its value in relation to silver*. Now, this must either mean that gold has increased in value in relation to all other commodities, or that silver has fallen, or that both processes have taken place. The last seems to Sir James Wilson to be the right cause.

There has been an enormous increase in the supply of gold, the present stock being nearly double of what it was 60 years ago. It might, therefore, naturally be expected that it would become less valuable in relation to other commodities, and that general prices measured in gold would rise rapidly. But the contrary has been the case. In the last decade ending 1910, a given quantity of gold bought in England 37 p. c. more of commodities than it bought 40 years ago. That is, *measured in commodities, gold has appreciated in exchange by 37 p. c.*

The case of silver has however been otherwise. Its supply has also enormously increased, the production of the last year, which was a record year, being double what it was 25 years, and eight times



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what it was 60 years ago. Consequently and unlike that of gold its value has depreciated. In the last decade ending 1910 a given quantity of silver bought in England 58 p. c. less of commodities than it did 40 years ago. In other words, *measured in commodities, silver has depreciated in value by 38 p. c.*

Here the question arises, why, although the supply of both gold and silver has increased, the value of gold has appreciated while that of silver has depreciated. It can not be due to any increase in the relative production of silver in comparison with that of gold. For, during the last 400 years the production of these two commodities has been in the proportion of 16 ounces of silver to 1 of gold. For the last 16 years the proportion of production has been about 11 ounces to 1 and for the last decade, 10 to 1. So the falling off in the value of silver in relation to gold must be due to a smaller increase in the effective demand for silver as compared with the increase in the demand for gold.

Now, so long as the Indian mints were open, the rupee (weighting 180 grains) possessed about the same value as 180 grains weight of silver. The value of a rupee's weight of silver fell year by year from 23d. in 1861 to 13d. in 1893, the year in which the Mints were closed. This means that the rupee which was valued at about 23d. in 1861 came to be valued at about only 13d. in 1893.

This naturally caused grave anxiety among the Anglo-Indian Officers who had to remit money Home, unsettled the foreign trade, and led to enhancement of taxation for supplying the rapidly-increasing rupee-equivalent of the Home Charges which have in all cases to be paid in sterling.

When the Mints were closed in 1893, the exchange value of the rupee began to go up on account of the diminution in the supply of rupees due to the stoppage of coinage, although the gold price of silver began to fall since then.

Below will be found the effects, as conceived by Sir James Wilson, of the closing of the Indian Mints with our comments thereon :—

1. It has steadied the rate of exchange and dissociated the rupee coin from the variations that take place in the gold value of silver.

This appears doubtful. The ratio of £1 to Rs. 15 accepted by the Indian Government nearly broke down after 1906. But rapid and great fluctuations have no doubt been avoided.

2. The sea-borne trade of India—both exports and imports—as well as the internal trade—has prospered greatly since exchange was steadied by the closing of the mints and has increased more rapidly than it did before.



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As regards this, Sir James Wilson's dictum is not borne out by facts in every case. As for instance, the Indian cotton mills have been hardly hit by this measure. Their chief customer is China who pays in silver. Before the closing of the mints the Chinese dollars could be freely coined into rupees ; but now they have to be sold as bullion. This suddenly caused a loss of nearly 40 p.c. to the Indian Cotton Mills.

3. The poorest classes of the population have been saved from a disastrous fall in their real wages, in the amount of necessary food and clothing they could earn. Had the mints not been closed, and had the rupee gone on falling in exchangeable value, rupee prices of food-grains must, in accordance with the law of demand and supply, have risen much higher than they have, and past experience shows that rupee wages would not have risen in anything like the same proportion.

But Sir James has not noticed that the Indian peasants have incurred a serious loss from another direction. On account of the closing of the mints, the millions of men who had invested their savings in silver ornaments at once lost a large portion of their capital, because these could no longer be coined into rupees, but had to be sold at the market as mere bullion, the value of which was much less than that of coined silver.

4. The rapid increase of the rupee equivalent of the Home Charges and the consequent increase of taxation have been stopped. India has to pay England in gold something like 1 crore 80 lakhs of pounds as Home Charges. If silver had not fallen in value, these Home Charges would have required only 18 crores of Rupees. If the mints had not been closed, India would have to pay now a little above 43 crores of rupees a year for her Home charges. At present she actually pays 27 crores of rupees a year.

The value of this gain is to a certain extent detracted by the fact that on account of the artificial limitation of the number of rupees in circulation, the purchasing power of the rupee has a tendency to increase. Therefore, the taxes paid by the Indians today represent more commodities than formerly. In other words, the amount of taxation calculated in commodities has increased.

5. The benefit which the grain producers would have gained on account of the rise of prices had the rupee been allowed to go down to something like 100. has been curtailed.

6. The unjust benefit which the debtor was enjoying at the cost of the creditor has also been reduced. A debtor who had borrowed 100 rupees when the value of the rupee was high found



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it possible to pay off his debt with 100 rupees when the value of the rupee became reduced. This means that he could pay off his debt by the sale of a much smaller quantity of commodities than it represented when he borrowed the money.

But while the disability of the creditor has been removed, an additional burden has been placed on the shoulders of those debtors who contracted debts at the time of the free mints. The value of their debts would now increase as payment has now to be made in the artificially appreciated rupees.

After this, Sir James proceeds to examine the machinery by which the Government maintains the stability of exchange at about 1s. 4d. per rupee. It is easy to prevent the value of the rupee from rising much above that rate. This is done by making the sovereign legal tender in India at the rate of 15 rupees, by guaranteeing to give rupees at the Indian mints in exchange for gold at that rate, and by agreeing to sell in this country bills on India at 1s. 4½d. per rupee, entitling the purchaser to get rupees in India in exchange for gold paid in London. But the difficulty is to insure that the exchange value of the rupee shall not fall appreciably below 1s. 4d., as it might do if there were too many rupees in circulation and no arrangements were made for withdrawing the surplus. If the Government were in a position to guarantee that any one could at any time obtain a sovereign for 15 rupees, this danger would be obviated, but to carry out such a guarantee at all times would require the maintenance of a very large reserve of sovereigns, involving great cost; and experience has shown that India can absorb an enormous quantity of gold without using much of it as currency.

The real safe-guard for the maintenance of the gold value of the rupee is the restriction of the number of rupees in circulation to the number actually required by the trade of the country. That number varies with the condition of trade. When trade is brisk, a large number of rupees is required; when trade is slack, a small number is needed; and if the number actually in circulation is more than is required at the time, there is a danger that they might become relatively cheap, and that their change value would fall below 1s. 4d. Under present arrangements, Government is more or less at the mercy of the public as to the number of rupees to be put in circulation, for it stands legally responsible to give rupees in exchange for gold. The process is very profitable to the Government, which can buy at any time a shilling worth of silver and make a rupee of it of the value of 1s. 4d., thus making a profit of



more than 4d. on each rupee coined. During the years 1900-1908 the Government had coined as many as 100 crores of rupees and made a profit of 18 million pounds. But it has decided not to spend these profits and to keep it under the name of *The Gold Reserve Fund* in order to meet the cost of converting rupees into gold, when in future silver would be demonetised. This fund now with interest amounts to 19 million pounds.

By this process the Government no doubt makes an enormous profit, as was the case in 1907-1908; it also involves a great deal of danger. Ordinarily the export trade of India exceeds the import trade by about 15 or 20 million pounds per annum. But in 1907-1908 the value of the exports exceeded the imports by only 3 million pounds, and in the next year by only 5 million pounds. The consequence of this shrinkage in the excess of exports over imports was that there was a much smaller demand in London for rupees payable in India, and at the same time the slackness of trade in India itself made the demand for rupees for ordinary circulation smaller; there was, therefore, a redundancy of rupees, and the exchange value of the rupee fell considerably and threatened to give way rapidly. To prevent this not only did the Secretary of State stop selling Council drafts on India and thus retain large quantities of rupees in the Indian treasuries, but the Government of India began to sell gold in London in exchange for rupees in India. At the same time, people in India, finding they had more rupees than they wanted, sent as many of them as they could and took gold for them. In this way the situation was saved. Sir James therefore thinks that the Government can never be too careful about rupee circulation in India.

In conclusion, he makes the following suggestions concerning the currency system:—

1. As regards its currency policy, the Government of India should continue to make it its main object to maintain the rate of exchange as nearly as possible at fifteen rupees to the sovereign, and should be prepared to incur considerable expenditure in order to secure still further the stability of exchange in all circumstances.
2. It should not bind itself to give gold for rupees or for currency notes, or in any way restrict the extent to which rupees are legal tender in India.
3. When it has acquired a sufficient reserve in gold, it should cancel its offer to give rupees for gold at fifteen rupees to the sovereign, and retain full liberty of choice as to whether it will give



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gold or rupees in payment of currency notes or of Secretary of States's bills on India. It should maintain the system of double legal tender of either gold or silver to any amount, and take full advantage of it itself.

4. It should announce that, so long as it has at least 15 crores of rupees in its possession, it will not coin any new rupees.

5. It should endeavour to meet any desire there may be for small sums in sovereigns throughout the country, by issuing sovereigns on demand from all important treasuries, but only in small amounts at a time. It should also continue to supply notes, and rupees everywhere on demand, except for large amounts, but retain the power to pay gold or rupees according to its own convenience.

6. Should the amount of coined rupees in the possession of Government long remain at or below 15 crores, it should coin new rupees, but not more than 10 crores in any one year.

7. Arrangements should be made for coining sovereigns in India, and for the tentative issue of a ten-rupee gold coin.

8. The Gold Standard Reserve should be held entirely in gold, and mainly in India. It should be drawn upon only when there seems a danger of the rate of exchange falling appreciably below 1s. 4d.

9. £ 1,100,000 should be borrowed and paid back to the Gold Standard Reserve.

10. Unless the import of silver into India falls off seriously, the Customs duty on silver should be gradually enhanced so as to obtain from it the maximum revenue possible.

We reproduce below some of the more important tables with which Sir James Wilson's paper is embellished and which no economist in India can do without :

ABSORPTION OF GOLD IN INDIA (ANNUAL AVERAGE IN  
MILLIONS OF £ WORTH)

Periods of Ten Years	Net Import	Production	Absorption
1841-1850	0.6	...	0.6
1851-1860	2.1	...	2.1
1861-1870	6.0	...	6.0
1871-1880	1.4	...	1.4
1881-1890	2.9	...	2.9
1891-1900	1.8	1.0	2.8
1900-1910	6.0	2.2	8.2
Total for seventy years	20.8	3.2	24.0



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ABSORPTION OF GOLD IN INDIA (*Contd.*)

Year ending March 31	Net Private Imports	Govt. Exports	Production	Absorption	
1891	...	4'2	...	0'4	4'6
1892	...	1'6	...	0'5	2'1
1893	...	—1'8	...	0'6	—1'2
1894	...	0'4	...	0'8	1'2
1895	...	—2'7	...	0'8	—1'9
1896	...	1'4	...	1'1	2'5
1897	...	1'4	...	1'4	2'8
1898	...	3'2	...	1'5	4'7
1899	...	4'3	...	1'6	5'9
1900	...	6'3	...	1'8	8'1
1901	...	5'0	4'5	1'9	2'4
1902	...	3'3	2'0	1'9	3'2
1903	...	6'4	0'5	2'0	7'9
1904	...	10'9	4'3	2'3	8'9
1905	...	12'0	5'6	2'4	8'8
1906	...	6'3	6'0	2'4	2'7
1907	...	9'8	...	2'2	12'0
1908	...	11'5	...	2'1	13'6
1909	...	3'1	0'2	2'2	5'1
1910	...	14'5	...	2'2	16'7
1911	...	16'0	...	2'5	18'5
Average of Ten Years					
1891-1900	...	1'8	...	1'1	2'9
1901-1910	...	8'3	2'3	2'2	8'2

## ABSORPTION OF SILVER IN INDIA

Period of ten years.	Average Annual Net Import	
	Millions of Ounces.	Millions of £ Worth at Rate of Exchange of the Time.
1841-1850	6	1'5
1851-1860	25	6'3
1861-1870	39	9'7
1871-1880	20	4'6
1881-1890	28	6'0
1891-1900	35	5'4
1901-1910	72	8'8
Total for seventy years.	225	42'3



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## ABSORPTION OF SILVER IN INDIA—(Contd.)

Millions of Ounces

Year ending March 31.	Net Private Import.	Net Import by Govt.	Total Net Import.
1901	10	40	50
1902	34	5	39
1903	44	0	44
1904	43	36	79
1905	38	36	74
1906	29	56	85
1907	35	83	118
1908	53	45	98
1909	74	...	74
1910	62	...	62
1911	56	...	56

## Import and Export of Gold and Silver into and out of India by the Government.

Year ending March 31.	Gold Exported.		Silver Imported.	
	Millions of £ worth.	Millions of Ounces.	Millions of £ worth.	
1901	4.5	40	5.4	
1902	2.0	5	0.6	
1903	0.5	...	...	
1904	4.3	36	4.1	
1905	5.6	36	4.3	
1906	6.0	56	7.1	
1907	...	83	11.5	
1908	...	45	6.3	
1909	0.2	...	...	
1910	...	...	...	
Total for ten years	23.1	301	39.3	

## COINED RUPEES HELD BY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, OUTSIDE TREASURY BALANCES, IN CRORES OF RUPEES.

On March 31.	In Currency Reserve.	In Gold Standard Reserve.	Total.	Treasury Balances in India.
1901	9	...	9	16
1902	11	...	11	18
1903	11	...	11	18
1904	11	...	11	18
1905	11	...	11	18
1906	14	...	14	16
1907	14	6	20	18
1908	25	6	31	15
1909	31	16	47	19
1910	30	3	33	15
1911	26	3	29	18



# INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

## Rupees and Small Silver Annually Coined in the Indian

### Mints in Millions of Rupees.

Year ending March 31.	Value of Silver received into the Mint.	Value of New Silver Coined.	Old Govt. of India Coins Recoinced.	Net Addition to Silver Currency.
Average of ten years				
1871-1880	58	57	1	56
1881-1890	64	64	4	60
1891	129	132	1	131
1892	65	56	2	54
1893	123	127	2	125
1894	44	48	2	46
1895	1	1	1	...
1896	3	3	3	...
1897	7	6	6	...
1898	13	10	6	4
1899	6	7	3	4
1900	21	22	9	13
1901	152	173	3	170
1902	33	51	13	38
1903	111	114	81	33
1904	133	165	54	112
1905	98	114	36	78
1906	137	200	31	169
1907	212	261	27	234
1908	122	181	24	157
1909	29	29	29	...
1910	22	22	22	...
Average of Ten Years				
1891-1900	41	41	3	38
1901-1910	105	131	32	99

Price (including import only) of bar silver in Bombay in rupees per 100 tolas, compared with price on or about the same date in London in pence per ounce.

End of March.	Price in Bombay.		Price in London in pence per ounce	Difference of price in pence per ounce.
	Rupees per 100 tolas.	Equivalent price in pence per ounce.		
1898	71	30'3	25'5	4'8
1899	74	31'6	27'5	4'1
1900	73	31'1	27'6	3'5
1901	75	32'0	27'8	4'2
1902	67	28'6	25'1	3'5
1903	60	25'6	22'8	2'8
1904	71	30'3	25'5	4'8
1905	72	30'7	25'8	4'9
1906	80	34'1	30'0	4'1
1907	84	35'8	30'6	5'2
1908	70	29'9	25'6	4'3
1909	63	26'9	23'2	3'7
1910	70	29'9	24'1	5'8
1911	72	30'7	24'3	6'4



*THE INDIAN WORLD*Seaborne Imports and Exports, including Treasure and  
Govt. transactions (Figures in Millions)

Year ending March 31.	Imports.		Exports.		
	Rs.	£.	Rs.	£.	
1870	...	469	46	535	52
1871	...	399	38	576	54
1872	...	437	42	647	63
1873	...	364	34	566	54
1874	...	396	36	569	83
1875	...	444	41	580	54
1876	...	442	40	603	54
1877	...	489	42	650	55
1878	...	588	51	674	58
1879	...	449	37	619	54
1880	...	528	44	692	58
1881	...	621	52	760	63
1882	...	640	50	831	69
1883	...	655	55	845	70
1884	...	682	57	892	74
1885	...	696	55	852	67
1886	...	711	53	850	64
1887	...	728	52	902	64
1888	...	788	56	921	65
1889	...	832	55	988	66
1890	...	867	60	1,054	72
1891	...	939	70	1,023	77
1892	...	842	60	1,115	80
1893	...	833	52	1,136	71
1894	...	955	58	1,106	67
1895	...	831	45	1,171	63
1896	...	863	49	1,186	67
1897	...	892	54	1,089	66
1898	...	942	60	1,048	67
1899	...	900	60	1,202	80
1900	...	960	64	1,170	78
1901	...	1,050	70	1,215	81
1902	...	1,095	73	1,365	91
1903	...	1,110	74	1,395	93
1904	...	1,305	87	1,680	112
1905	...	1,440	96	1,740	116
1906	...	1,440	96	1,770	118
1907	...	1,620	108	1,830	122
1908	...	1,785	119	1,830	122
1909	...	1,515	101	1,595	106
1910	...	1,602	107	1,944	130
1911	...	1,735	116	2,163	144



## A GOLD CURRENCY FOR INDIA

Seaborne Imports and Exports, including Treasure and  
Govt. transactions (Figures in Millions)

AVERAGE FOR PERIOD OF TEN YEARS

		Imports		Exports	
1871-1880	...	454	41	621	56
1881-1890	...	718	55	890	67
1891-1900	...	896	57	1,125	72
1901-1910	...	1,396	93	1,635	109

## A GOLD CURRENCY FOR INDIA

It might be in the recollection of our readers that in the last Calcutta Session of the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Vithaldas Thackersay suggested that the Indian mints should be opened for the coinage of 10-rupee gold pieces. It has been given out that during the current Simla season the Finance Department will take up the subject and consider the desirability of introducing a gold currency in India. Mr. S. K. Sarma opposes this idea in the pages of the July number of the *Hindustan Review*. He says :—The question is not easy of settlement and must be discussed from many points of view. The opening of a branch of the Royal mints at Bombay for the coinage of gold had reached even in the days of Sir Clinton Dawkins the stage of receiving royal assent, but somehow it has made no further progress, and the royal assent has been delayed. Whether it was due to the jealousy of the mint authorities in England as we have been recently told or whether it was the India Office that really vetoed the proposal, the wisdom of introducing gold currency into India has been much doubted. Even the Anglo-Indian mercantile community in whose interests primarily the mints were closed to the coinage of silver did not appreciate the wisdom of introducing a gold currency, however much they desired fixity of exchange. Almost all the Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce opposed the scheme.

These expressions of opinion must undoubtedly have an effect upon the policy of Government and unquestionably the abeyance of the scheme is in consonance with the all but unanimous opinion of the mercantile community. It is remarkable as illustrating the rapid development of public opinion in this country that although the Anglo-Indian mercantile community was opposed to the coinage of gold currency 10 years ago, and, we fancy, sticks to it still, Indian opinion should veer round in favour of it. Especially in Bombay, among a certain class of men, the feeling is strong that we should



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adopt a gold standard based upon gold currency and give up the present exchange standard which we are maintaining. Sir Vithaldas Thakersay thinks that 10-rupee gold coins would circulate among the people to an extent that will ensure the safe convertibility of rupees into sovereigns—for convertibility is the essence of the gold standard. Where the gold is to come from, whether it will be tendered for coinage by the people and whether instead of circulating it will not go to swell the hoards—these are questions which Sir V. Thakersay has not cared to discuss ; but they are the fundamental questions that have to be discussed and adequately solved if the attempt is not to end in disastrous failure.

Of £15,419,163 worth of gold imported last year, only £1,772,301 were sovereigns and other British coins ; the rest must evidently have been hoarded or cast into ornaments. The total circulation of rupees must be about 220 crores, and even if 25 per cent. of the sovereigns imported went into circulation, which is assuming too much, the gold currency could not have been more than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Having regard to the habits of the people, it is safe to assume that ninety per cent. of the sovereigns imported went into the goldsmiths' crucible or were hoarded rather than that they swelled the volume of the currency.

It is this ingrained tendency that led both Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Probyn to recommend schemes for the introduction of the gold standard without a gold currency. Both of them were convinced that if gold were put into circulation, it would soon be drained away into the hoards and their schemes were calculated to secure the benefits of a gold standard by taking every precautionary step against introducing gold into the currency. He contemplated the opening of a gold reserve office in London and two offices in Bombay and Calcutta. The London Office was to start with a capital, raised by loan, of say ten millions, and it was to be authorised to sell to all applicants rupee drafts for sums of Rs. 15,000 and upwards in exchange for sterling money at the rate of 1s. 4d. which were to be drawn on the two offices in Bombay and Calcutta. Likewise the Indian Gold Standard Offices were to sell to all applicants sterling drafts on the London Gold Standard Office, payable on demand, in sums of £1,000 and upwards, in exchange for rupees at the rate of 1s. 3d. per rupee. All rupees received by the Indian Gold Standard Offices were to be held in those offices to meet the rupee drafts drawn by the London Gold Standard Office. All gold received by the Government were to be sent to the London Gold Standard Office.



If the gold standard reserve should decrease at any time to "apprehension point," *i.e.*, show a likelihood of becoming exhausted, it would indicate that the rupee currency was seriously redundant, or, in other words, that there were too many rupees in circulation, and it would be the duty of Government to curtail the currency. They should melt a portion of the rupees, held in the Indian Gold Standard Offices, despatching the bullion to London for sale there for sterling money, which should go to strengthen the London gold standard reserve. Should these sales of silver prove to be insufficient to preserve the gold standard reserve from extinction, it would be necessary to strengthen the fund by borrowing further on a temporary footing. This in fact was the serious drawback of the Lindsay scheme, and the Government of India declared that this involved unlimited liability to pay gold in exchange for rupees. According to this scheme the Government would be buying at a higher price than they are worth the rupees which they should melt, and it might so happen that the gold in the London Gold Standard Office might be extinguished by the loss incurred in giving gold for rupees in the Indian offices.

Mr. Lindsay's scheme can only succeed when the condition of the circulation has already reached the point where the redundancy, in an inactive season, is reduced to a small amount. Whether it would have succeeded in 1898 may be doubted, but it stands to reason that if the large coinage that followed was calculated to meet a genuine demand for the rupees by the expansion of internal trade the scheme might have been given a trial. There was not much chance of the gold in London Office being exhausted by the inert rupees surfeiting the Indian Offices and embarrassing the authorities. Before the mints were closed we had a circulation of 120 crores, on the authority of Mr. F. C. Harrison, and we have added to it about 80 crores since then. The fact that the brisk coinage was rendered necessary shows two things, namely, that there were not many hoarded rupees, for they would have been tempted to come out, and that instead of the silver currency being redundant it was rather just enough to meet the demand. Sir Fleetwood Wilson is of opinion that it is incontestable that a large quantity of hitherto inert silver currency has been brought into use during the last year or so, and, if it is true—and some of us may well doubt if instead of inert rupees coming into circulation, it was not rather that an exaggerated and panic-stricken coinage was undertaken within the last decade—and if the process goes on to the extent that no inert mass is left in the land, Mr. Lindsay's scheme might be adopted without any



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necessity being left for unlimited liability, that is to say, if unlimited liability was its only serious defect.

But that was not the only or serious defect of the scheme in the eye of the Government of India, and some of the reasons put forth by them might be read to-day with amusement in the light of recent experiences. Sir James Westland, who was then Finance Minister, observed that the distinctive objection to the scheme lay in the fact that the conversion fund which receives and pays gold is located in England. Consistency is by no means the besetting sin of the Finance Department, and we find the Financial Secretary in 1910 defending warmly what the Finance Member had condemned in 1898.

That was not the only heresy which the Finance Department has given up. Sir James Westland was opposed to vesting the Government with a sensible degree of control of the volume of the rupee currency and the Lindsay scheme involved the Government coining new rupees from bullion bought with gold from the Gold Standard Office at their option. But now by closing the mints for the private coinage of silver and reserving the right to coin on their own account, Government have reserved to themselves the right to meddle with the volume of currency. And they have freely exercised the right forgetting the very sensible and sane principle which Sir James Westland has enunciated.

In their despatch of 3rd March, 1896, to the Secretary of State, the Government of India clearly stated that their decision was to with-draw silver as much as possible and force the sovereign into circulation.

But inspite of this attempt on the part of the Government of India it would be pertinent to enquire why it was that there was no response on the part of the yellow metal to flow freely into the country and back again as the vicissitudes of trade demanded. The only condition assumed as necessary for the automatic ebb and flow of gold was the restriction of the rupee circulation to an extent that would ensure the fixity of exchange at 16*d.*, and that condition was satisfied at that time. Not only did exchange stand high, but the trade found considerable stringency in the money market and protested very strongly against any attempt at melting down the rupees. An attempt was also made by the Government in 1900 to get a million and a quarter sovereigns circulated, but they all came back to the Treasuries and the banks, and the people did not take them. Having regard to the well known disposition of the people to hoard gold, that a million and a quarter sovereigns could not be made to



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serve the purpose of money, must give ample food for reflection. It was apparently not before the Government of India had made every effort to introduce gold that they commenced the era of brisk coinage to meet the demands of trade. If the gold standard were our destiny, Mr. Lindsay and those who thought with him that a goldless gold standard was the best for the country were evidently in the right.

How, under the circumstances, Sir Vithaldas Thackersay thinks that ten-rupee gold pieces will circulate passes our understanding. The attempt made ten years ago has ended in failure, and in spite of all the favourable circumstances for the ebb and flow of gold, in spite of the Government of India's resolution not to permit addition to the rupee currency, but get gold into circulation, gold did not come and rupees had to be coined. Are we better situated now to renew the experiment than we were ten years ago? No doubt there has been a heavy import of gold during the year and the import goes on merrily enough. This is accounted for by Sir Fleetwood Wilson by a change in the savings of the people. They are saving in gold while they were saving in rupees before.

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## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

### M. K. GANDHI

[1. *M. K. Gandhi : An Indian Patriot in South Africa.*—By Rev. Joseph J. Doke with an Introduction by Lord Ampthill. Published by the London Indian Chronical 1909.

2. *M. K. Gandhi, and the South African Struggle.*—By Dr. P. J. Mehta, Bar-at-Law, Rangoon. Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1911.]

We believe it was Mr. Gokhale who on one occasion described Mr. Gandhi as "a man amongst men, a hero amongst heroes, and a patriot amongst patriots." Of such a man, any account, however small, is welcome. The brochure published recently by that enterprising firm, Messrs. Natesan & Co., of Madras is by no means a biography in any sense of the term, but is only a dissertation mentioning a few of the incidents of Mr. Gandhi's life. For a systematic account of Mr. Gandhi's life, character, and views we shall refer our readers to that most fascinating booklet which the Rev. J. G. Doke has placed before the public.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that some time ago Reuter supplied us with the following information :—

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative, stated that the settlement contemplated the introduction at the next session of legislation repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907 and restoring legal equality as regards immigration. As a set-off to the suspension of passive resistance the Government recognises the right of passive resisters, numbering ten, to enter the Transvaal by virtue of their education, and reinstates the passive resisters who formerly had rights of residence. Government is also releasing the imprisoned passive resisters immediately and pardoning Mrs. Sodha.

Mr. Louis Botha, interviewed by Reuter's representative, gave details of the Agreement settling the Asiatic trouble and said he was greatly gratified thereby. He was sure Indians would do their part to help the Government to make things as pleasant as possible for them. He fully assured them that the Government entertained no hostility towards them, always remembering that they had determined not to admit any more, except as provided in the Agreement. He hoped Indians both in Africa and India would realise the great difficulty Mr. Smuts had in obtaining the concessions he had already made.

It will be seen from the above that the self-sacrificing labours and struggle of Mr. Gandhi and his brave colleagues have partially borne fruit and the one perennial source of irritation and indignity is to be removed at last. That a handful of Indians, residing in a foreign land, far away from their hearth and home and under hundred disabilities and disadvantages, have been able to force such an unsympathetic and even hostile—we deg



pardon of Mr. Botha—Government to recognise their rights and grant concession to them, show how noble and brave a stand the Transvaal Indians have been able to make so far. It also shows that after all physical force, however great, is not always capable of offering permanent resistance to the soul-force of even a few individuals, if the fight be in the cause of truth and justice. To understand the secret of success which the Transvaal Indians have been able to achieve against so many odds it is necessary first to understand the spirit in which the fight was undertaken. The following words of Mr. Gandhi will give us an insight into it :—

"No matter what may be said, I will always repeat that it is a struggle for religious liberty. By religion, I do not mean formal religion, but that religion which underlies all religions, which brings us face to face with our Maker. If you cease to be men, if, on taking a deliberate vow, you break that vow, in order that you may remain in the Transvaal without physical inconvenience, you undoubtedly forsake God. To repeat again the words of the Jew of Nazareth, those who would follow God have to leave the world, and I call upon my countrymen, in this particular instance, to leave the world and cling to God, as a child clings to its mother's breast."

Noble words these ; but nobler the man who never once neglected to act up to their spirit throughout the agitation ! "I am nothing, I am willing to die at any time, or to do anything for the cause," said Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Doke ; and this *anything* he actually did when he not only voluntarily courted the prison cells again and again, but also allowed his two sons to go to jail and sacrificed his little all for the sake of the cause.

Indeed, it is the transparent honesty and whole-hearted devotion of the leader of the agitation which has done much to bring it to a successful conclusion. Passive Resistance requires so much courage, determination and self-restraint on the part of each one of the community that it is neither an easy nor a safe thing to stick to it. It taxes the patience of the members to such an extent on the one hand and demands so much sacrifice from them on the other, that there is every moment a fear that the rank and file may ruin the cause either by breaking up into active resistance or by forsaking the struggle.

For a morally insufficient leader to lead such an agitation is an impossible task. The leader of such a movement must be above suspicion and above the ordinary run of men. He must be prepared to stake all and to lose all. By his character, capacity and intelligence he must be able to receive unstinted homage of



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his followers. And when we find that the Indian vegetable-sellers, fruit-sellers and hawkers in the Transvaal entered into the spirit of the campaign with as great self-sacrifice and devotion as any body of men in the world, when we find a common ignorant man of the street speaking smilingly in broken English, "if Mr. Gandhi say go to prison, we go," can we doubt that the personality of their great leader has not been the supreme force in all this ?

A more wavering, hesitating man in his position might have ruined himself and the cause as well. But it was fortunate that Mr. Gandhi was a passive resister not from policy, but from principle. What is miscalled Passive Resistance is a part and parcel of his life and religion. He explains his creed in the following words :—

"Passive resistance was a misnomer. But the expression had been accepted as it was popular, and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the term. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term "soul-force." As such it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term "body-force." Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul-force. All these teachers counted their bodies as nothing in comparison to their soul. Tolstoi was the best and brightest (modern) exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India the doctrine was understood and commonly practised, long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that soul-force was infinitely superior to body-force. If people, in order to secure redress of wrongs, resorted to soul-force, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case, the wielding of this force never caused suffering to others. So that, whenever it was misused, it only injured the users, and not those against whom it was used ; like virtue, it was its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. "Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by evil, but by good ; in other words, physical force was to be opposed not by its like but by soul-force. The same idea was expressed in Indian philosophy by the expression "freedom from injury to every living thing." The exercise of this doctrine involved physical suffering on the part of those who practised it. But it was a known fact that the sum of such suffering was greater rather than less in the world. That being so, all that was necessary, for those who recognised the immeasurable power of soul-force, was consciously and deliberately



to accept physical suffering as their lot, and, when this was done, the very suffering became a source of joy to the sufferer. It was quite plain that passive resistance, thus understood, was infinitely superior to physical force, and that it required greater courage than the latter. . . . The only condition of a successful use of this force was a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body, and its permanent and superior nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith, and not a mere intellectual grasp."

As Rev. Doke says, the idea of Passive Resistance as a means of opposing evil is inherent in Indian philosophy. In old time it was called "to sit *dhurna*." Sometimes a whole community would adopt this method towards their prince. Bishop Heber wrote of it many years ago in his *Journal*:

"To sit *dhurna*, or mourning, is to remain motionless in that posture, without food, and exposed to the weather, till the person against whom it is employed consents to the request offered, and the Hindus believe that whoever dies under such a process becomes a tormenting spirit to haunt and afflict his inflexible antagonist."

So early as a child, Mr. Gandhi caught this idea from a Gujarati verse which purported to say:—"If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing. Real beauty consists in doing good against evil." Then came the lesson of the famous "Sermon on the Mount," which awakened him to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance. He says:—

"When I read in the 'Sermon on the Mount' such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven,' I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion where I least expected it. The *Bhagavad Gita* deepened the impression, and Tolstoi's 'The kingdom of God is within you' gave it a permanent form."

As may be imagined from the seed-thought planted by the Gujarati verse, Mr. Gandhi's ideal is not so much to resist evil passively; it has its active complement—to do good in reply to evil. Mr. Gandhi's great principle in life has been to conquer 'hatred by love', and as Dr. Mehta says, he is probably the only one among living men who is able to practise this doctrine to the very letter. One instance, narrated by Rev. Doke who was an eye witness of the scene, will show how far he has been able to carry



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his principle into practice. On one occasion the Pathans had attacked him, striking him down and beating him with savage brutality. When he recovered consciousness he was lying in an office near by to which he had been carried. He was helpless and bleeding, the doctor was cleansing his wounds, the police officers watching and listening beside him, while he was using what little strength he had to insist that no action should be taken to punish his would-be murderers. "They thought they were doing right," he said, "and I have no desire to prosecute them." They were punished, but Mr. Gandhi took no part in it.

Truthfulness, fearlessness, selflessness, dogged determination,—these are some of the attributes which according to Mr. Gandhi are essential requisites for the service of one's mother land. Those men alone who possess these virtues can make ideal passive resisters.

Mr. Gandhi always acts up to the above principles and inculcates them upon those who come in contact with him. He manages to live on 15 rupees a month in the Transvaal where everything is expensive. In such a cold climate as that of Johannesburg, he takes too purely vegetarian meals, and takes no other beverage than pure water or milk. He usually takes his first meal at about one or half-past one in the afternoon. It consists mostly of fruits and nuts. The second meal comes off at about seven in the evening, and as a rule it is of his own cooking. He has given up drinking tea, coffee, cocoa, etc., as these articles are mostly prepared with the help of indentured labour. He generally performs his own domestic services, such as cleaning cooking-utensils, sweeping the house, making up his bed, etc. In these matters also he acts on the principle of equality for all and would not allow any one to render him such services as could be rendered for him by himself. His dietary is very simple, as a rule, consisting only of bread, vegetables and fruits, and he never allows himself anything that is not absolutely wanted for the preservation of health. In his younger days, he made various experiments on his person to find out the bare minimum required to keep the body and soul together, and ultimately he has hit upon this dietary. He believes that by meeting the bare necessities of life, the soul is better purified. In the bitterest cold he bathes in cold water and sleeps in the open verandah. Money has little charm for him. Rev. Doke says that his compatriots wonder at him and sometimes grow angry at his strange unselfishness. They say, "He will take nothing. The money we gave him when he went as our deputy to England he brought back to us again. The presents we made him in



Natal, he handed over to our public funds. He is poor because he *will be* poor." With all these virtues no wonder that his followers will love him with the love of pride and trust.

Neither is it strange that with such a leader at their head the Indian passive resisters in the Transval should render a good account of themselves in the fight in which they were lately engaged. Indeed, India may well be proud of her sons in South Africa. We have no room to record all the sufferings and hardships they gladly and voluntarily underwent for the sake of their conscience. For all these we shall ask our readers to refer to the pamphlet, *The Tragedy of the Empire*, brought out in 1909 by that noble-hearted Englishman, Mr. Polak. To put the whole thing briefly, it is calculated that, from the beginning of January, 1908, until the end of June, 1909, a period of 18 months, no less than 2,500 sentences of imprisonment, varying from three days to six months, have been imposed upon Indian settlers by the Transvaal Courts. The vast majority of these punishment have been with hard labour. Many men have been to gaol again and again, some as many as half-a-dozen times. They include boys of 16 and old men of over 60. They embrace the sick and the whole.

Very many men have been ruined in the struggle. Mr. A. M. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal and a well-known and highly-respected merchant, and Mr. Dawood Mahomed, the president of the Natal Indian Congress, and other leaders of their respective communities placed duty before everything else and have sacrificed all their material interests. While they were in jail their European creditors—most of the Indian business is financed by them—on failing to induce them to give up the struggle, pressed them for payment of their debts. Under the circumstances in which they were placed, they could not meet their demands. The result of it all was that their businesses were gone. They are now leading the lives of extreme privation.

Women as well as boys and girls have contributed their quota to the struggle in the Transvaal. Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha, the wife of Mr. Sodha, one of the staunchest passive resisters, dared to cross the frontier and was arrested at Volkstrust. Many poor and less prominent men have lost their all. Hawkers were arrested on their rounds, their produce were confiscated, and its value lost to them; they have been prevented from collecting outstanding debts, and when released from gaol, after serving their sentences, it was



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impossible to find their debtors, or if found, too costly to compel them to pay.

A noble record this and truly, as *The Times of India* said not long ago, the Indian nation is being hammered out in South Africa !

In this struggle Mr. Gandhi has borne his full share of his sacrifice—perhaps more than his share. He had been thrice to jail, every time with hard labour.

As Mr. Doke says, “ Mr. Gandhi is a dreamer. He dreams of an Indian community in South Africa, welded together by common interests and common ideals, educated, moral, worthy of that ancient civilization to which it is heir. This is the dream. His ambition is to make it a reality, or die in the attempt.” It is for the advancement of this cause that he has founded a small colony of Indians called the Phoenix.

Mr. Gandhi also realised the necessity of some medium of constant intercourse with Indians throughout the South African colonies, and after mature thought a weekly organ was launched. “ Indian Opinion ” has done very fine service to the Indian community. Undoubtedly Passive Resistance would have been impossible without it. But it has never paid its way. During the first twelve months he had to supply about 30 thousand rupees from his own pocket. Even then the deficit was so large that it became necessary for Mr. Gandhi either to close the venture or to assume the entire charge himself. He decided on the latter course, and has borne the responsibility ever since.

Mr. Gandhi's religious views, and his place in the theological world, have been a subject of much discussion. A newspaper described him once as a “ Christian Mohammedan ”—an extraordinary mixture indeed. Some think that he is a Buddhist. Others imagine that he worships idols. Not a few believe him to be a Theosophist. But according to Rev. Doke his views “ are too closely allied to Christianity to be entirely Hindu, and too deeply saturated with Hinduism to be called Christian, while his sympathies are so wide and catholic, that one would imagine he has reached a point where the formulæ of sects are meaningless.” His conviction is that old Hinduism, the Hinduism of the earliest records, was a pure faith, free from idolatry ; that the spiritual faith of India has been corrupted by materialism, and because of this she has lost her place in the van of the nations. “ I question,” says Mr. Doke, “ whether any religious creed would be large enough to express his views, or any Church system ample enough to shut him in. Jew and Christian, Hindu, Mahammedan, Parsi, Buddhist



Confucian all have their places in his heart, as children of the same Father."

This breadth of sympathy is, indeed, a striking note of the Passive Resistance movement. It has bound together all sections of the Indian Community.

To Mr. Gandhi, religion is an intensely practical thing. It underlies all action. Politics, morals, commerce, all that has to do with conscience are a part and parcel of his religion.

Such is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi—the unflinching worker in the cause of progress and the hero, not of hundred platforms but of thousand sacrifices.

All honour to such a man and welcome to any publication which contains even a fragmentary notice of such a life !

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## ARTICLES

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### IMPERIAL RULE IN INDIA

The consolidation of tribes into small states and of small states into large ones and ultimately into great empires is regarded as the characteristic of the political and social evolution of the world. India has seen the working out of such an evolution in all its different phases and today finds the development of the final stage in the imperial rule of Britain. Though numerous empires have been from time immemorial founded in our country, that of the British is unique in several respects and offers many interesting suggestions to the philosophic historian and to those observers who study the future with the help of the past. Although there are some points of similarity between the Indian empires of the past and the Indian Empire of the British, there are singular points of difference which make the two things look so unlike each other. A profitable comparison may also be instituted between this empire and the empires of Rome and Alexander. Such a study will help us in understanding clearly the nature of imperialism in general and the part it has played in shaping the destinies of mankind.

Never before in Indian history did an empire include the whole of this country with the adjoining island of Ceylon ; never before did India attain complete political unity. So that in point of mere extent the British Empire is larger than any other established in the land. Leaving for the present out of account the mythical empires of the famous six emperors, we find the Mauryan rulers to be the first of those that made a serious and successful attempt to bring all India under one sway. But even in the time of Asoka, when the empire reached the zenith of its power and prosperity, the southern portion of the peninsula and the island of Ceylon remained independent. So also was the case under Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya), the founder of the second great empire. Under Harsha in the 6th century, only the country north of the Vindhyas was conquered, while that to the south was ruled by his famous contemporary Pulikesin II, the greatest of the Chalukyan rulers. So it is clear that none of the historic empires of ancient India ever succeeded in getting the whole country to be organised into one body-politic.



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The Rajput empires of Delhi and Kanouj made similar attempts but only in vain. Even under the Mohammedan rule, for a very long time, the Rajputs in the north, the Bhamini kingdoms in the centre, and the kingdom of Vijayanagar in the south remained independent of the imperial authority, and it was only under Aurangzeb that the Sultan held sway over the whole land. Even then the extreme south was conquered only in name. The Maharatta empire was confined to the centre and the west, while the Sikhs did not go far beyond the Punjab. It was, therefore, left to the diplomacy and the military skill of the British to conquer the whole and establish the first real Indian Empire. The results of this political unity will be referred to below.

The work of unifying the diverse races inhabiting India and of completely merging the separate principalities and kingdoms in one great empire was a thing not appreciated and, therefore, not generally carried out by the empires in the past. Every king in those ages regarded it a pious and honourable duty to extend his power over the whole land, and perform a *Rajasuya* or an *Aswamedha* sacrifice. Armies were sent, the submission of the neighbouring princes received, and tribute obtained from them at the time of the ceremony ; but more often than not were the princes and their dynasties overthrown from power and their kingdoms converted into mere provinces. An empire in ancient India generally consisted of a number of small kingdoms, ruled by their own hereditary monarchs, with their own armies, laws and methods of taxation, and paying only a nominal tribute to the imperial sovereign and obeying his mandates only through fear of force. This seems to have been the fundamental weakness of the empires in those days ; and this also explains why they declined and fell so rapidly. When by death the mailed fist of the strong ruler—the founder of the empire was removed, the conquered princes awaiting for an opportunity revolted, for they had their own standing armies and they could depend upon the loyalty of their subjects. The people, guided by custom and tradition, were more loyal to the local prince than to the emperor living at a long distance. In fact, though the conquest of the whole country was very frequently carried on, consolidation, which is always a more difficult task, was never attempted. The central authority was always weak. There was no independent machinery of Imperial administration which could go on working even in the absence of a strong man at the helm of affairs. Those empires were more like loose federations without



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the federal idea before them. They resembled the Holy Roman Empire of the middle ages.

Attempts and very successful ones were made by the Mughal emperors at consolidation by destroying the influence of local monarchs and overthrowing their dynasties, and by converting their kingdoms into mere provinces and by appointing to rule over them governors who were direct servants of the emperor. The power granted to the governors was immense. In central India, in Rajputana, in the Deccan and the south and in the Maharatta country, kings still remained and ruled and when the imperial grip was a little bit relaxed, they formed by themselves the centres of local revolt and rebellion.

So that the perfection of the machine of imperial administration was left to be achieved only under the British rule. The whole country has not only been conquered and politically united, but as a result of the overthrow of lesser chieftains the people now-a-days recognise their rulers not as hitherto in a king of Bengal or a king of Gujrat but in the Suzerain power. The army and the navy, the collection of revenue and its expenditure, are under the complete control of the central authority; and there is no danger of any governors becoming independent with their own armies and their own courts as frequently happened in the Mughal empire. But then, it may be said that there are still many native states ruled by feudatory princes with a large amount of sovereign authority accorded to them. However, when we understand how powerless they are in themselves, how in their policy they are guided by the resident advisers, and how they are deprived of armies and of status in international affairs, it may be said that they represent a form of landed aristocracy as the peers of the realm do in England; and if this comparison appears to be rather painful and demeaning, they may be said to resemble the kings of Bavaria, Saxony, etc., in the modern German Empire with little power to do harm to the central authority though with great opportunities to do good to their own subjects. So taking all these into consideration, we may conclude that in point of efficiency of administration and of the strength of central authority, the imperial rule in India at the present day surpasses that of all the empires in the past, Hindu or Moslem. Not only has political unity been achieved but all elements of permanency are being given to it.

The result of this complete effacement from the map of India of all independent kingdoms, of this recognition by the people of the country that their rulers are the British and the British alone, and



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that their interests are bound up with the permanency of the British rule, is of very great significance to the future of the country and her people. Though they are divided by differences of language, of custom and of religious creeds, yet since they have common interests to fight for, they realise today that they all form the members of a single nationality and that they should direct their attention and their efforts towards national advancement. The political unification of the people, the spread of common laws, the existence of common courts of justice and similar political circumstances have given birth to an Indian nationality. Full scope has been given to the process of nation-making in India and we may now say that it is nearing completion.

From another point of view the imperial rule in India at the present day seems to offer us advantages which were not dreamt of by our ancestors under the Mughal or the Hindu Empires. The British empire is a democratic empire. The ancient empires were all of them monarchical in character. In fact, the concept of empire was bound up with monarchy and could not exist without this particular form of government. However, in this age of ours there are existing side by side the universal phenomena of empire-building and the progress of democracy. Not only this. The work of empire-building is still being carried on by nations which are most democratic in character. England is in the forefront of these nations ; and the United States is following her close. Russia may at first sight appear to be an exception but that is not really the case. For have we not seen how the thirst for empire reacted on the central Government during the last five years and how she is also becoming democratic ? So that in future with the advancement of humanitarian ideals, of ideals of liberty and of equality, the work of empire-building would not cease but democracy would make immense progress. The political evolution of the world requires federalism of a comprehensive sort or federal-empires. The precedent set by the British empire in regard to her self-governing colonies is likely to be widely followed. And empires in which the central government confines itself to the discharge of the most essential functions, while allowing a large amount of freedom to the component parts to work out their own laws and forms of justice—that will become the rule in the future. With the progressive enlightenment of the masses in every country, no other form of government could last.

Whatever may be the result of the controversy as regards the existence of popular government in ancient India, it is quite



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certain that democratic and representative government as we understand at the present day and on the scale it exists in western countries was unknown to our ancestors. Sovereign assemblies, deliberative as well as executive, with full freedom of discussion did not exist in old-world States. We have therefore to agree that both the theory and the practice of popular government are being learnt by us from the West. The British nation loves democracy and worships liberty. It granted democracy and liberty to the self-governing colonies of the empire. And there is a public opinion growing in extent and influence that democracy is not the peculiar birth-right of western nations but the Oriental nations also are fitted to enjoy it. Up till now India was denied a share of the political privileges granted to the other component parts of the empire. But the fact of the establishment of legislative councils, of their enlargement recently, and of the recognition of the claims of political bodies like the Congress by the Government, coupled with the promises made by three successive sovereigns of England and many of her leading statesmen, reveal to us a condition of the British mind willing to grant us a large measure of liberty and freedom when as we deserve time comes. The empire cannot remain democratic in one part and autocratic in another, for this would lead, as in the ancient Roman Empire, to the establishment of autocracy throughout or to the disruption of the empire itself. From the present state of affairs both these alternatives seem to be improbable. The empire will continue to exist, but the constitution is bound to change. When the change comes, India is sure to enjoy the liberty which is now the monopoly of the self-governing colonies.

This is a point of dissimilarity between modern imperial rule in India and the imperial rule of the past.

The empire of the British is foreign to us in a sense in which the Mughal and the Afghan empires were not; and the benefit we derive from the British rule is to a large extent due to its continuing to remain foreign. The Mohammedan empires were so only in their origin. And when once they were established, the Mohammedans became naturalised in India, made it their home, and imbibed all the elements of Hindu culture, so that after a time the empire may be said to have become indigenous. There was much Rajput blood in the Mughal emperors, and Hindu blood in the other Mohammedan princes; for the former married Rajput wives, and many among the latter were converts from Hinduism. Therefore the Mahommedan empires were Indianised sooner or



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later. The political ideals and the nature of the administration of the Mohammedan empire differed very little from those of the Hindus.

Another point to be noticed in this connection is that the effects produced by Mahommedan rule in India were neither very remarkable nor very widespread. But for the Saracenic architecture, the growth of the Urdu language, and the rise of a number of religious reformers, it may be said that that this rule has left no trace of its existence in this country. This is the opinion of one great historian of mediæval India. One of the causes for this meagre influence exercised by the Mohammedans appears to be the absence of a continuous flow, into the midst of the people and into the country, of those Moslems receiving inspiration directly from Iran, Arabia and Turkey,—the seats of muslim civilisation. Fresh currents of Islamic culture were not to be had, and the old ones were so much mixed up with Indian culture that they could not influence the people very much. It will thus be seen that though in origin the Mahommedan empires were foreign, they did not continue to be so for a long time.

That is not the case with regard to the English in India. Those who come here stay here only for a short time. They do not want to make India their home. They are the latest products of European civilisation; they come here after receiving their education from the great masters of learning in the British universities; and by their frequent visits to their motherland they always remain in touch with the great movements—political and social—of Europe. They are, therefore, representatives in our country of a culture foreign to us and one which continues to be foreign. Those who come into contact with us—whether they be few or many—whether they are officials, missionaries or merchants—possess fresh vigour and energy and, therefore, are best fitted to influence us, and it is, as we all know, the influence of these that we are feeling every day in our universities, our industrial concerns and in our every-day life. It is in this sense that the British Empire continues to be foreign. Here it is that it differs materially from the Mahommedan empires.

If we begin to study the deeper effects produced by the imperial rule of Britain in India, we find that they closely resemble those results that were the outcome of the conquests of Alexander and the foundation of an empire by him. Alexander conquered a territory which had developed a very high type of civilisation; the British also found India famous from time immemorial for its culture. In the empire of Alexander the influence of Greece was



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spread far and wide. In the Museum of Alexandria, in the schools of Antioch, in the palace of the Parthian emperors, in the far distant kingdom of Bactria, Greek art and literature exercised a profound influence. The ideals of the east were modified by contact with the west ; the cities of Alexander became centres of popular government ; the construction of roads and the opening of the highways of commerce made of western Asia a political and commercial unit. Out of this intermixture of civilisations and ideals rose a religion, an art, and a philosophy which was the pride of the ancients in the early centuries of the Roman Empire.

Have we not as the outcome of the British Empire similar results in India ? What activity is there at the present day which cannot be directly or indirectly traced to the influence of British rule and to our continued contact with that vigorous race ?

During the last fifty years western culture has been spreading throughout the land ; and one great change that was produced by this is a correct conception of what progress means. For a long time we were in the habit of regarding ours as the best of lands. A sort of philosophic contentment and a sentimental love of the *status quo*—these were the ruling characteristics of our people. The progress of the individual and of the race in all directions and even the thought of it was repugnant. Ours then was an ideal of resignation. But now having come under the influence of western culture, we have learnt to look at things with a deeper insight. Under the spell of modern civilisation with its various forms of activity and material progress we have also begun to admire ideals of progress, of citizenship, and of artistic creation. A cry has arisen everywhere that there is a need of reform in social relations, in religion, in morals, and in every branch of human activity. It may be that the masses are still blind to these new forces, but in the new leaders of the people and in their every-day life they are quite visible. " Throw off lethargy, work hard and be energetic, for progress requires all this "—this is the guiding principle of the time.

Again it is our continued contact with a highly efficient industrial civilisation that has given rise to so many economic problems. We have begun to understand the close connection existing between moral progress and material prosperity. We realise now that our poverty has a great deal to do with our backward condition in many directions. Every Indian statesman and publicist is now engaged in solving these important problems of protection, industrial organisation, currency and so on.



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It now becomes clear to us what the nature of modern imperialism is, and how many new problems are the outcome of it. It essentially differs from the imperialism of the past. The British rule has thus a claim to our everlasting gratitude for having given birth to these problems of nationality, democracy, industrial progress, etc. How it could lay claim to a higher title if it only extended its sympathy and help to the solution of Indian problems by the Indian people in the best interests of India herself.

M. Venkatarangaiya

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Money was in use in India in the very earliest times of which we have record. At the very dawn of history we find the Indian people already well advanced in civilisation. They were at the time actually entering upon what is called the manufacturing and commercial stage. Such a state of society implies exchange, and exchange implies the use of money.

The great antiquity of Indian money is proved from various sources, the chief amongst which are (a) the most ancient accounts of the population and condition of society in India; (b) the Vedic writings; (c) the code of Manu; (d) the Buddhist works; (e) numismatic and other archaeological remains; and (f) comparative philology.\* It is believed that the standard of money was essentially and permanently of copper, but gold and silver coins were used as adjuncts to or multipliers for the copper coins. The sovereigns of India did not claim or enforce the prerogative of coining gold or silver. Various other substances, such as clay, lacquer and shells (cowries) were also used for exchange.

During the Mahomedan rule a reform of the currency was undertaken, and attempts were made to make silver the standard of money. At the same time the rulers prohibited the coining of gold or silver by private persons. Mahomed Tughlak entertained a new scheme of finance, in pursuance of which he at first debased the silver coins and ultimately issued copper pieces, which were to circulate at the nominal value of silver coins.† But this bold scheme, which was a notable and instructive monetary experiment, failed. The discovery of America and increased commercial re-

\* Del Mar, *History of Money*, p. 58.

† Historians believe that silver was in the earliest period more valuable than gold.

‡ This experiment was really a forerunner of the modern system of paper money.



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lations with Europe led to an influx of silver into India in exchange for spices and gold ; and Akbar the Great once more adopted silver as his standard, but his scheme did not wholly succeed.

During the Mahomedan rule coins were struck at various places, and they were of different weights. In the seventeenth century the East India Company also began to coin coins for use in their factories. As soon as the Company became the virtual rulers of the country they formed the idea of making the currency uniform. This, however, was realised by gradual steps. The first step that was taken was to replace the old miscellaneous coinage by four denominations of rupees and fewer kinds of gold coins. In 1835 a uniform currency was introduced for the whole of British India. The rupee, which weighed 180 grains and contained 165 grains of pure silver, was made the standard coin. Smaller silver pieces of the same standard were also coined.

India was thus at this time a silver-standard country.\* Silver was received in the Indian mints without limit when tendered for coinage. Consequently, the value of the rupee in gold depended on the gold price of the silver bullion. The discovery of new silver mines and the demonetisation of silver by many civilised countries caused a heavy fall in the value of silver. Between 1871 and 1893 the exchange value of the rupee fell almost continuously, and the Government apprehended a further fall. The rate fell from 2s. in 1871 to 1s. 3d. in 1892. Although for internal purposes it did not matter much, yet in the trade relations of India with gold-standard countries it produced very bad results. The violent oscillations in the rate of exchange upset trade conditions and hindered the development of India by foreign capital. Besides, the Government of India suffered great loss in making remittances to meet its obligations in England. The number of rupees required for defraying the sterling expenditure in England increased with each fall in the exchange rate of the rupee. The Government had also to pay compensation allowances to the British officials to make good the loss which they suffered. All this rendered necessary a considerable increase of taxation. The violent fluctuations in the value of the rupee made the preparation of the Budget an exceedingly difficult task. In view of this embarrassment, the Government tried for a number of years to promote a system of international bimetallism. But when their

\* In the eighteenth century the East India Company first adopted the gold standard, but in 1793 the standard was changed from gold to silver, which latter metal remained the monetary basis until the closing years of the last century.



efforts became ineffectual they appointed, in 1892, a committee, under the presidency of Lord Herschell, to consider and report on the matter. In accordance with the recommendations of the committee, it was decided, in 1893, to close the mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver; but the right was given to the public of demanding from the Government rupees in exchange for gold at the rate of 15 rupees for £1 without limit of amount. The exchange value of the rupee thus ceased to coincide with the price of silver, and was artificially fixed at 1s. 4d. Silver ceased to be the standard of value, though it continued to be used as the chief material of currency.

In 1898 another committee was appointed, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Fowler (afterwards Lord Wolverhampton). The Fowler Committee reported in 1899.\* They were in favor of a gold standard, and they recommended that the decision reached on the recommendations of the Herschell Committee should be maintained, and that the English sovereign should be declared legal tender in India at the rate of one sovereign to 15 rupees. Their recommendations were accepted by the Government. The rupee, however, continued to be legal tender to an unlimited amount. The intention of the Government was to introduce the gold standard, and many people thought they were actually introducing it. What the Government really adopted, however, was what may be called the gold-exchange standard.† Gold is not used by the people for ordinary transactions—it does not circulate to any considerable extent in the form of coins.‡ The bulk of the metallic currency consists of coins which circulate at an artificial value far greater than their intrinsic value. The Government makes this currency exchangeable with gold in the international money market.

The immediate object of the closure of the mints was to raise the value of the rupee by restricting the supply. In 1893 the rupee stood at 1s. 2½d. The Government set itself to the task of raising it by 1s. 6d. In this, however, they were disappointed. The restriction of supply caused apprehension in the minds of the people, and brought into

\* Vide the Report of the Fowler Committee.

† The Government did their best to encourage the circulation of gold, but the effect was just the reverse of what they desired. Here was a practical illustration of the currency maxim that the popularity of a coin varies inversely with the anxiety of the possessor to part with it.

‡ The gold-exchange standard should be distinguished from the "limping standard" which exists in France. The former differs from the latter in that (1) the Government of India keeps up in support of the exchange an elaborate mechanism, which is not required in France, and (2) in France there is a large circulation of gold, whereas in India the circulation of gold is very small.



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circulation the hoards of rupees, and the quantity which would otherwise have been used for artistic and ornamental purposes remained to swell the total silver currency. Rupees which were outside British India also naturally sought the Indian markets. The first result of the closure of mints was, therefore, that the rupee fell in value.\* The Government stood out for a while, but in the end was compelled to sell them for about ls.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. During the next few years the policy of abstention from coinage was resolutely persisted in. The value of the rupee continued to fall till in January, 1895, it reached the minimum of  $12\frac{1}{2}$ d. After that date it rose by gradual steps till in 1898 it stood at par. Since that time the value of the rupee has not fluctuated in value to any considerable extent.†

This currency experiment has been the subject of criticism of various sorts. The admirers of the system claim for it great and unqualified success. Experience shows, say they, that the system is perfectly stable, and great developments of trade and industry have proceeded under the system ; it has settled the finances of the Government and has made possible the remission of a considerable amount of taxation ; and, lastly, the wisdom of the measure is proved by the fact that many other countries have followed the example of India in this matter. Its detractors point to the inelasticity of the system as a great defect. In busy seasons an increased currency is required, which in a dull season, that is the interval between the harvests, leads to an inflation of the currency from a want of automatic regulation, and thus raises prices. They think that it is advisable for the Government to have to do as little as possible with the currency. Further, they hold that in the case of a grave crisis it is quite possible that the system will completely break down. As for the remission of taxation, it is said that there has really been none, for the remitted taxation represents the additional amount that is taken from the tax-payers by an artificial appreciation of the rupee.‡ “There seems apparent,” says an able writer, “in the policy now pursued a disposition to secure tactical advantages at the expense of the strategy necessary to ensure permanent success.”§

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\* This immediate result was foreseen by Professor J. S. Nicholson (*vide* his article entitled the “Indian Currency Experiment” in the *Contemporary Review*, 1893).

† In 1898 there was a rather marked fall in the value of the rupee.

‡ The amount of taxation remitted since 1898 has been 5 crores of rupees.

§ An article entitled “India’s Monetary Condition” in the *Economic Journal*, December, 1910.



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The alternative suggested by some is the adoption of the gold standard in its entirety. But it must be remembered that India is a poor country, and that gold would be an inconveniently large standard for the bulk of the people.\* Others advocate a return to the old system. In order to do so some means must be found by which to prevent a recurrence of the state of affairs which made the adoption of the gold-exchange standard necessary. Bimetallism† is a third alternative, but it cannot be successful unless it is accepted by at least a majority of the civilised nations.‡

In order to keep up the gold-exchange standard and to prevent great fluctuations in the value of the rupee, the Government sells one rupee in India for rs. 4  $\frac{1}{8}$ d. paid in London, and for rs. 3  $\frac{7}{8}$ d. in London paid in Calcutta. They sell one rupee in India for rs. 4d. paid in India. They also buy a rupee in India for rs. 3  $\frac{7}{8}$ d. payable in London. For these transactions a reserve is kept in gold in London and in silver in India.

In accordance with a recommendation made by the Fowler Committee it was decided that, with effect from the 1st of April, 1900, the net profit from the coinage of rupees should not be treated as revenue, but should be held as a special reserve, and sent to England for investment in sterling securities. Up to 1906 practically the whole amount was remitted to England and appropriated to the purchase of British Government securities, the interests realised being added to the fund and invested; but in that year it was decided that a portion of the reserve should in future be held in silver in India.¶ In 1907-08 and 1908-09, in consequence of a further decision, half the profits on coinage was to be applied to capital expenditure on railways, but the application of this decision has now been temporarily suspended.§ No coinage

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\* Among Indians, Sir Vithaldas Damodhar Thackersey is the chief advocate of the gold standard. He advises the Government to open a mint for the coinage of sovereigns in India and to introduce smaller gold pieces.

† Mr. J. S. Nicholson, in his *Money and Monetary Problems*, has tried to prove that bimetallism is both advantageous and practicable. On the other hand, an eminent authority like the late Sir Robert Giffen held that bimetallism was unattainable, and if attained would be dangerous.

‡ The gold-exchange standard has been adopted by Austro-Hungary, the Philippines, Mexico, and the Straits Settlements. China remains now the only civilised country with a silver currency.

§ There is considerable difference of opinion as to the propriety of this step. Some think that the ground for having part of the reserve in India is merely sentimental, and therefore not at all strong; others, on the contrary, go so far as to suggest that the whole of the reserve should be held in India.

¶ It would certainly be inadvisable for the Government to spend any portion of the reserve until it reaches at least double its present size.

§ *Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1908-09, p. 20.



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was undertaken in 1908-09. On the 31st March, 1909, the reserve stood as follows :\*

Sterling securities	...	£ 7,414,510=	about 11·2 crores.
Silver (coined rupees in India)		10,586,734=	" 15·9 "
Cash in England	...	469,818=	" 70 lakhs.
Due from Treasury balance			
in India	...	344=	" 5160 "
Total	...	£18,471,408=	about 28 crores.

The total amount of existing currency may be estimated at about 160 crores.

In 1896 a reform of the currency was undertaken. The "1835" rupee ceased to be re-issued, and in 1901-2 similar orders were given with respect to "1840" rupees. In 1906 bronze coins were issued as tokens for small transactions, and they are now gradually superseding the old copper coins. In 1909 one-anna nickel pieces began to be coined; and it is now in contemplation to issue half-anna nickel coins.

Under the Acts of 1839, 1840, and 1843 the Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were authorised to coin Notes payable on demand. But the circulation of the Notes was practically limited to the Presidency towns. An Act of 1861 repealed the previous Acts and provided for the issue of a Paper Currency through a Government Department by means of Notes of the Government of India. Since then there have been no Bank Notes.

Under the Paper Currency Act, 1905, Paper Currency Notes of the following denominations, viz., Rs. 5, Rs. 10, Rs. 20, Rs. 50, Rs. 100, Rs. 500, Rs. 1000, Rs. 10,000 are issued to the public. Notes are issued in exchange for silver coins in every Paper Currency office. There are eight circles of issue having their headquarters at Calcutta, Cawnpore, Lahore, Bombay, Karachi, Madras, Calicut, and Rangoon respectively; and the Notes so long were legal tender only within the particular circle from which they had been issued. The Government were not so long legally bound to cash any Notes outside their circle of issue; but as a matter of fact, they were cashed in any Government Treasury, if they were not for very large sums, and also by the Presidency banks. The reason for this restriction was that if Notes were cashable in all circles the cost of carrying rupees from one part of the country to another would fall on the Government, and a considerable reserve would have to be kept at each centre to meet the demands for cash.

\* There is a tendency in certain quarters to regard the gold standard reserve as an asset against the public debt. But this view is certainly erroneous.



In 1909 the five-rupee Note, which had previously been made legal tender throughout India, was declared to be legal tender in Burma. The growing popularity of the universal five-rupee Note led the Government to further universalise the Paper Currency, and in 1910 the ten and fifty-rupee Notes were made universal. The hundred-rupee Note has also been declared universal with effect from the 1st of April, 1911.

The law requires that a Paper Currency reserve shall be held against the Notes equal to their full value; securities of the Government of India and the British Government may be held as part of the reserve up to a limit of 12 crores of rupees (£8,000,000), of which the British Government securities may not exceed one-sixth of the amount; the remainder must be held in gold and silver coin or bullion. On the 31st of March, 1909, the value of Notes in circulation was Rs.454,875,000 (£30,325,000).\* The constitution of the Paper Currency reserve on the same date was as follows:—†

Gold	...	...	...	£1,523,414
Silver coin	...	...	...	20,759,425
Silver bullion	...	...	...	52,465
Securities of Government of India	...	...	...	6,667,000
Securities of British Government	...	...	...	1,333,000

It may not be out of place to briefly describe here the mode by which remittance is made from India to England. The Secretary of State for India requires money in London for meeting the expenses of his office and various other charges; and many merchants in England want to send money to India. The whole transaction is easily made by means of Council Bills, which supersede the necessity of transferring and re-transferring bullion. Every Wednesday the Secretary of State offers bills for a certain amount for sale, and invites tenders from those who wish to remit money to India. If there is a brisk demand, the prices realised are comparatively high; if the demand is dull, the bills are sold at comparatively low rates. The bills are sent by the buyers to India, where they are cashed by the Indian Government.‡ Those merchants who want to avoid the delay of seventeen or eighteen days which the bills take to reach India may purchase telegraph transfers, for which they have to pay slightly higher rates.

**Pramathanath Banerjea**

\* In 1910-11 the average net circulation of Notes, after eliminating the holdings in Government reserve treasuries and in the balances at the head offices of the Presidency banks, was Rs. 40 35 crores (*vide* Budget Statement Speech of the Finance Member, 1911).

† *Moral and Material Progress of India, 1908-09.*



## A GLIMPSE INTO THE ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

### THE MUSK DEER (*Moschus Moschiferus*)

The musk-deer is a native of the cold regions of Central Asia and can be found almost every where from the spurs of the Himalyas to Peking. The climate of Calcutta is therefore not agreeable to it. For this reason it is brought into the Zoological Gardens at Alipore only in the cold weather. The authorities keep it very carefully and give it every day the bracing air of the morning from sunrise to eight o'clock. Before the hot weather sets in, it is sent back to its native country. In its habit, though not in structure, it somewhat resembles the chamois, whose leather, going by the same name, is so well-known to us as a household necessity. It is shy and timorous. Through the kindness of the Superintendent of the Gardens the first day it was shown to me behind the Reptile House in a small neat and tidy caravan, well protected and placed in a cool shaded enclosure, it was found too shy to present me a full view of it from head to foot. So it withdrew to the farthest end of it. Its canine teeth, specially those of the male, are not merely prominent but projecting, whereas in the living specimen that I carefully examined in the Zoo they were not so. This made me see it once more and this time more closely and minutely than I had done before. It is, therefore, superfluous to add that the following lines are the result of the attentive observations taken at two different periods. The Superintendent himself took me last time to the musk-deer. In his company I found it let loose in a crib. Having shaken off its natural shyness, it came closer and closer to us as if in response to his call in English till we could pat it. I was then placed in a position to examine the object of my curiosity to my heart's content. The fur on its body is pepper-salt gray and thickly set. The older it grows, the colour changes into black or to some shade of it. Male or female, the musk-deer has no horn. There is a secretion in the naval region, which is very strong-scented, if used in a large quantity and possesses medicinal property. The musk, as it is called—hence the name of the animal—forms a valuable article of internal commerce and trade carried on by the Nepalese, the Bhutanese, the Abors and other hill-tribes with India. The round musk-bag is taken, sewed, dried and sold. The genuineness of the musk is tested by the Ayurvedic physicians and other experts by burning a particle of the contents of the bag, the vapour of which emits the scent of the musk.



## ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

THE FOUR-HORNED DEER (*Tetraceus Quadricornis*)

In another crib of the cool shaded deer enclosure, of which mention has been made before, is kept the four-horned deer. Its size is small and colour fawn. It is larger than the undeveloped young musk-deer. Nature has given it two pairs of slender antlers—one frontal, the other crown—as the most formidable weapons of defence. She asserts herself. Though there is no necessity for making use of the frontal pair, she urges her keeper to constantly level it against the wooden partition of the crib lest it should fall into disuetude. The consequence is that it has become broken and blunt. The other pair on the crown is uninjured. This shows that it is much less used than the frontal pair, as an offensive or a defensive armour. Like a caged lion it is restless, and paces to and fro the whole length of its cell. It is lovely to look at ; but, as I have said above, formidable of approach. Danger is courted in the guise of loveliness. It has the significant Indian name of *charsingha*. In Dhera Dun it is called *Choka Doda*, in Chota Nagpore, *Chaorang*.\*

THE WAPITI DEER (*Cervus Canadensis*)

What is called the stag in the Eastern Hemisphere is called the Wapiti Deer in the Western world with the difference that the latter is a foot higher and the most stupid of the *cervidae*. It is mostly found in Canada.† Hence the name italicised above, as given by naturalists. Its cry is half way between the “belling” of the stag and the braying of the ass.‡

THE FALLOW DEER (*Dama Vulgaris*)

I would crave the indulgence of the public when I beg of them the liberty to christen in Bengali this species of the *cervidae* as the *chita harin* from the white spots in a ground of yellowish brown colour. In doing so I would say that I have no pretension whatever, much less a presumption, to an unerring knowledge of the subject. But be it understood in this connection that the christening is not a mere figment of imagination but a differentiation from others. In a more polished terminology it may also be called the *Kshettra Mriga*, from the fact of the semi-domesticated state in which it is found pasturing in English parks. Its palmated antlers are cylindrical at the base. The male lives apart from the female except during the hot season, when mating is a matter of indispensable

\* Colonel Alexander Kinloch's "Game shooting in India and Thibet.

† *Encyclopædia Britannica*

‡ *Ibid.*



## THE INDIAN WORLD

necessity. And the latter scarcely brings forth more than two fawns. Fondness for music characterises the Fallow Deer.

### THE ELK OR MOOSE DEER (*Alces Malchis*)

The Elk is the largest of the horn-sbedding quadrupeds living. Measured from the shoulders it is taller than the horse. And its palmated antlers are much bigger and more spreading than these that have been given an account of, however brief it may be, under the preceding sub-head. Its habitation is not in this country. It is widely distributed in an area covering the north of Europe and Asia, east Prussia, Caucasus and other countries lying between the same latitude and longitude. Its palmated antler is so large that a porter cannot carry it with ease, weighing as it does from 50 to 60 lbs. By the fifth year of its age the tines grow to fourteen in number and attain full length. It carries them so adroitly that they are not entangled with branches and twigs. It has a hairy, teat-like, elongated excrescence underneath the neck similar to that which some of the Indian goats have. Its meat is considered a great delicacy and the tongue and the nose are highly prized.

### THE ROE DEER (*Capreolus Capra or Capreolus Capreolus*\*)

The range of the Roe Deer extends over the British Isles, the greater part of continental Europe, the south of Sweden and eastern Syria. One of its chief characteristics is that it never forgets its track while out grazing. In order to waylay it this characteristic is taken advantage of by the sportsmen and hunters. It is an expert in swimming. Professor Bischoff Geissen says that the ovum of the doe develops in December, when it mates. Before that it never seeks the society of its mate.

### THE BARKING DEER OR MUNTJAC (*Cervulus Vaginalis*)

The Muntjac is found in the forests of India and China, where four kinds of it are met with. Properly speaking, it is a native of Java. In the Himalyas it is known by the name of *kakur*, and in Nepal and the neighbouring states by the name of *Ratwa*. In the Gardens it is labelled as the Barking Deer. Colonel A. Kinloch wonders how it has got the name—Muntjac. I submit it is an abbreviation of the compound word, mountain jackal. Its voice and the barking of a dog are nearly alike. This is why it is called the Barking Deer or Mountain Jackal or Muntjack.

### THE MOUSE DEER (*Tragulus Memmisa*)

I am told that the Mouse Deer is the smallest of the *cervidae*. Fine Mouse Deer are being exhibited in the Gardens. I found

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\* J. G. Millais's *Mammals of the British Isles*.



## ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

them to be the smallest of all I have seen there. One of them was basking in the Sun, hard by the railings of the enclosure, when I saw them. The pretty little thing seemed not to be shy at all, or it would have fled from me. Their colours are fawn and brown. They are fed with gram and greens.

THE SPOTTED DEER (*Cervus Aris*)

The absence of any mention of this species of the deer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and its similarity to the Fallow Deer, which it resembles in shape and size, made me at first to pass it over altogether. But a reference to other encyclopædias,\* under the article *Aris*, and the small useful guide compiled by the Superintendent placed me in possession of all necessary informations on the subject. In India the doe is called the *Chital*, and the buck the *Jhank*.† It is well distributed from the sub-Himalyan and Terai regions to Southern India and on the east as far as the Sunderbands and on the west to the confines of the United Provinces. The state of confinement is nothing to it, as it breeds very freely in the Gardens. It is spotted and its colour is fawn. There is a narrow patch of black on the back and the under limbs are snow-white. The doe is hornless. The buck bears slender horns, which are sharp-pointed and somewhat branched, whilst those of the English Fallow Deer palmated as we have seen. It is nocturnal in its habit as it generally lives in deep forests with water close by. With the help of the spots on its body it eludes the keen vigilance of the sportsman. The male spotted deer display courage in the defence of the young and the gentler sex, though on the whole like most other, it is timid and shy and gentle and capable of being domesticated and bred even in some parts of Europe, say, Britain and France. It is widely distributed in the neighbourhood of Nepal, but not in Sikim, in Rajputana, in Assam, Orissa, Sunderbands and other parts of India. It ascends to a height of 4000 feet.

THE SAMBAR (*Cervus Aristotelis* or *Cervus Divicolour*)

Throughout India it is also called the *Sambar*. In Dhera Dun it goes by the name of *Mahamaiu*, and in the Himalyas by the name of *Jurao*. It lives in deep forests. Its tail and horns, like most others, are short. It is a good mountaineer, as it ascends the Himalyas to

\*Chambers' and Harmsworth's Encyclopædia and J. G. Millais' "*Mammals of the British Isles*."

†Colonel A. Kinloch's "*Game Shooting in India and Thibet*."



## THE INDIAN WORLD

1000 feet. Ceylon, Burmah and India, excluding the Punjab, Sindh and Rajputana, are its habitations.

### THE JAPAN DEER (*Cervus Sika*)

Is a hardy animal. It breeds freely in the Alipore Gardens. Not long ago there was here also a living specimen of a Formosan Deer.

### THE HOG DEER (*Cervus Porcinus*)

Its Hindustani name is *Para*. Why it has got this odious strange name is more than I can tell. It bears in no way any resemblance to the hog. I do not know whether it wallows in the mud like the hog. If it does, I have never seen it doing so. It is found in India, Burma and Ceylon and occupies the same tracts as are roamed over by the *Sambar*. The doe has no horn. What the bucks have is short, branched, and sparsely hairy. In the same enclosure the inquisitive visitor is delighted to find the hybrid crossed between the hog-deer and its spotted cousin. The hybrid is restless and has faint spots on a brown ground.

### THE MANIPURI DEER (*Cervus Manipurensis*)

It differs from all other deer in its having a mane-like fur all around the neck. Coloration is darkish brown; tail, short. It has a toddling gait so that it may keep up the balance of its heavy tines. It is exhibited in the same spacious grassy paddock of the Gardens where the four land tortoises are. And none do any harm to each other.

### THE REINDEER (*Tarandus rangifer*)

Unless something be said of the Reindeer, however meagre may the account be, a paper like this on the *Cervidae* will be left incomplete. What the camel is to the desert lands, the reindeer is to the ice-lands. The Arabs highly prize the yields of the camel. And to the Laplanders and the Russian Northerners every particle of the produces and products of the reindeer, which is their only motive power, is of paramount use in order to keep body and soul together. The horn of the reindeer both branches off and palmates. It is rather like the Elk than any other deer. It ranges over the boreal region of both the Old and New Worlds from Greenland and Spitzbergen in the north to New Brunswick in the south. In Scandinavia it has been domesticated. Its draught-power enables it to draw a weight of 300 lbs (about 4 maunds). It is remarkably fleet and forbearing. God has endowed it with hoofs broad and deeply cleft. They



are admirably fitted to pace over the bleak lands of ice and snow with ease for 100 miles and draw the sledge. There are several varieties of the reindeer differing in size and in the form of the antlers. According to many writers the American reindeer are a distinct species. It is divided into two varieties—the barren ground caribon and the woodland caribon. In summer the Lapland deer live on young shoots of the willow and birch and in winter, on the moss named after them and other lichens, which are dug out of deep snow with hoofs naturally fitted for the purpose. The American reindeer generally make their movements in large incautious herds. For this reason they are easily preyed on by the Indians, to whom they afford food, clothing, tents, tools and the like necessities. Let linguists give what derivative they may to the word, 'reindeer'. Of the several I am humbly of opinion that the one *reino*—pasture, and English *deer*—is most appropriate, though I would like to derive it from the English words, 'rein' and 'deer', that is the deer which is reined to a sledge.

#### THE ANTELOPE

Nothing is further from the truth than to classify the Antelope with the Deer, which it bears some affinity to. It is idle to add that the one is quite different from the other. It belongs to the section *Cavicornia* or hollow-horned ruminants. An antelope has a pair of hollow, annulated, tapering, sharp-pointed horns. Those of the deer are deciduous. The sheep and oxen have horns similar to those of the antelope, while the cervian horns are, as has been shown in the preceding paper, branched off into tines and, in most cases, palmate. It is not generally known that the curious white-tailed gnu and the gazelles are all antelopes, of which there are eleven kinds. They are not deer, which they are in most cases mistaken for. What are the chamois, the nilghau and the koodoo? They are antelopes and nothing else.

#### THE INDIAN ANTELOPE (*Antelope Cervicapra*)

Hard by the small Carnivora House at Alipore is the paddock of the Indian Antelope. The English name—Black Buck—is therefore a misnomer. In Bengali it is called *Krishna Sar* or *Kulsar*. And why? Because the colour of the upper part of its body is darkish brown till it gradually shades itself into pitch-dark, and that of the lower part of it is whitish brown. In shape it resembles a goat, though sturdier and larger in size. Its chief armour of defence is its ringed long tapering pointed horn. It seems to be bold and does not



fear the approach of man. It is found throughout the plains of India from the foot of the Himalayas to the southern extremity, excepting the Malabar Coast, the Eastern Ghats and Lower Bengal and abounds in the United Provinces and the highlands of Central India. The Thibetan species has a less curved and thinner pair of horns.

#### THE BEATRIX ANTELOPE

A part of the enclosure at Alipore intended for the musk-deer, the four-horned deer, the white-tailed Gnu and the Anoa, is partitioned out for the Beatrix Antelope. It inhabits Arabia and, I am told, Persia. The couple kept in the Gardens are stout. The upper part of the body is white and the lower, brown. It has straight, receding, tapering, ringed horns and resents the approach of man. At the sight of me the stronger and stouter of the two levelled its horns with impotent rage against the iron fencing. It would have certainly gored me to death but for the obstruction. As a proof of its viciousness I would say that one of its horns has broken by striking it against the fencing. Its keeper guardedly looks after it. Its companion took no notice of my approach.

#### THE GAZELLE

Under one common name we have the Arabian Gazelle (*Dorcas Gazella*), \* the Tibetan Gazelle or Goa (*Gazella Picticaudata*) and the Indian Gazelle (*Gazella Bennettii*). Byron sings of the beauty of the eye of the Gazelle in his *Corsair*.

**Nakur Chandra Biswas**

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\* Major H. S. Palmer's Sinai.



# The Progress of the Indian Empire

## PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

### BENGAL

On the first of July last passed away from amongst us one of the most straightforward publicists whom it has been the privilege of Bengal to give to India. Death of Mr. Narendranath Sen Mr. Narendranath Sen—we believe the title of a Rai Bahadur conferred upon him by the indiscretion of Sir Andrew Fraser did more injustice to his position and dignity than anything else that could be conceived—was a man of singular honesty of purpose and determination of character. In his earlier days he was one of the most prominent leaders of the popular party, and if he had not cared to be a recluse, popular honours would have come to him in showers. But he was a man of a different temperament, and rewards and honours he did not bargain for in his devotion to public duty. Latterly, when age began to tell upon his health and he began to lead a practically retired life, he very often made wrong guesses about the aims and objects, including the motives, of the patriotic party of Bengal. Thereby he did more injustice to himself than the party he attacked and the people whose motives he impugned. We consider all these later aberrations of Mr. Sen as defects of his judgment, and no man who ever knew him in flesh and blood could ever think that he deserted the popular cause for any but the most patriotic motive.

What, however, should have been Mr. Sen's chief claim on posterity—his invaluable services to Indian journalism—was spoilt by himself when unfortunately he was advised to accept a subsidy from the Government for conducting a weekly vernacular newspaper. That was almost a suicidal step, and it is no secret that the criticisms that he invited by this measure hastened his death by many years. It is so sad to think of the death of so valiant a champion of public cause and of so towering a personality in Indian journalism.

Whether for good or for evil, Sir Edward Baker has perhaps left Bengal for good, and though Mr. F. W. Duke has been selected to keep the throne at Belvedere warm for his successor, it is an open secret that no Bengal civilian is likely to come back to take Sir Edward Baker's place. *Capital* has been circulating the rumour that Mr.

Change of the  
Head of Govern-  
ment and Partition



## THE INDIAN WORLD

Duke would be the last Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and whether Sir John Hewett comes to succeed Sir Edward Baker or not, the next ruler of Bengal will have the superior dignity and status of a Governor. If this be true it must involve a modification of the measure known as the Partition of Bengal. What *Capital's* authority may be for such a rumour we do not know. But we have no doubt that if British statesmanship mean to deal fairly with India and intend to right her wrongs the present Partition must go. If King George V. should go away from Calcutta without doing anything of the kind, there would be a sense of disappointment rankling in the breasts of the Bengali people which no ceremonies at Delhi or pageants in Calcutta would possibly efface.

Before another fortnight passes from today, the Calcutta Improvement Bill will be one of the laws of the land. The Calcutta Improvement Scheme Of the many contentious points in the measure, the Government has already expressed its desire to allow appeals to lie before the High Court in certain cases, and it is just possible that some concession may also be made by way of compensation to poor and middle-class landlords in Calcutta. At any rate, we do not think that there will be much fight over the Bill, although so many as 700 amendments will be proposed in the next session of the Council.

When about four months ago a reception committee was organised in Calcutta with a view to give the king a royal reception on his arrival in the metropolis, many prominent men were excluded from the committee and such noblemen as the Nawab Bahadur of Mursidabad and the Maharaja of Durbhanga were kept at arm's length. All this might have been due to jealousy or to lack of foresight or to the absence of any organising skill. But anyhow a sense of deep disappointment and bitterness was caused and almost a public scandal created. As time is wearing out and the date of the royal visit is approaching, great efforts are being made to close up all ranks. Already a supplementary list of additional members of the Executive Committee has been published, and we find in this the names of many of our prominent men including Babu Moti Lall Ghosh and Ray Yatindranath Chaudhury who were not taken in at the first instance. These lists are, however, conspicuous by the absence of the names of the leading members of the Indian Association, which is undoubtedly one of the most constitutional and prominent public bodies of the City. If anybody desires to keep out the leading men of the Indian Association from such an organisation, the effort

The King's Reception Committee scandal



## PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)

ought to be defeated. We hope, however, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who is the Secretary of the Indian Association and a member of the Executive Committee, will come forward with an explanation to the public in the matter of this exclusion.

A most extraordinary feature of public life in Bengal manifested itself in the enthusiasm and interest displayed by the Indian and European public in the recent semi-final and final matches for the I.F.A. Shield tournament. But more extraordinary than even this was the victory of an Indian team over two successive British military teams. It is indeed a matter of sincere congratulation that a Bengali team has after all succeeded in beating down white competition even in a game which is not the Indian's national. This victory of the Mohan Bagan team completely proves the fact that, given equal conditions, the Bengali will beat the Britisher all along the line. The football triumph of the Mohan Bagan team is, therefore, a significant record of Bengali genius. England had better look to her laurels even in her own national games.

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N.B. From the next number, this section will contain notes from Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Allahabad and Dacca, besides those for Bengal, regularly every month.  
*Ed., I. W.*



## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

No scheme of our national progress can be complete which does not provide for an adequate system of education and a well defined programme of social advance. The cultivation of politics may be a very attractive feature in the intellectual equipment of a people. But no people can live, move, and have its being in an atmosphere of politics only. In a country situated like India, the mere cultivation of politics has a risk of assuming a destructive form; for, constructive politics is outside the sphere of an Indian politician's activity. Consequently, politics naturally degenerates in India into mere academic controversies, and gives one no better opportunity in life than merely to hit hard and to be hard hit in turn.

It is, therefore, absolutely imperative that at least a large section of our educated community should divert their attention to fresh fields and pastures new. In other civilized countries, national activity finds vent in education, social reform, and industrial progress. Here, unfortunately, the educated man is either a politician or a money-earning machine. He generally has a very narrow horizon, and his activity is limited to his professional engagements or to amateurish efforts in the field of politics. The cause of education, the cause of social advance, and the cause of industrial progress are to him matters of not much concern. He does not think that it is worth one's while to give one's serious attention or to make any serious efforts to broaden the basis of our educational, social, and industrial outlook.

At the end of every year, as mere adjuncts to the Congress, educated Indians hold social and industrial conferences to discuss what can be done to improve the social and industrial condition of India. As yet these conferences have achieved nothing, nor even moved a step forward in advance. Excepting passing any amount of pious resolutions and producing papers on all conceivable phases of industrial development, absolutely nothing has been done to advance the cause of social reform or industrial renaissance. We frankly confess that this is not the right way to go to work, and that the only thing wanted to push



*EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS*

forward these causes is to set noble examples and demonstrate the results of useful experiments. In this particular matter, the Social Conferences have been morally guilty of having never proved the strength of their convictions. And as for any industrial progress, people will never take to any line of work kindly unless it is demonstrated to them satisfactorily by experiments as to what can be done in those lines. Mere talk, therefore, in advancing the cause of social reform is as futile and barren as the idea of inducing people to divert their occupations in life by merely academic lectures.

In another matter, however, we have not begun to talk as yet. At one time about 4 or 5 years ago there was no doubt, in Bengal at least, some anxiety shown to develop a course of national education. Somehow or other the organisers of that movement got themselves entangled with the catch-words, 'on national lines and under national control,' and the idea involved in that phrase has since then obsessed the authorities of what has grandiloquently come to be described as the Bengal National Council of Education. It has now been reduced to a very tiny institution, and there are not many people even in Bengal to sing its pæans and none so poor as to think it worth his while to spend any powder and shot over it. Of course, the time is not yet to write its epitaph; but every man who has his eyes wide open can see how the institution is sinking. Its only classes which still draw students are the technical ones which, since the amalgamation with it of the Bengal Technical Institute, have become the only place for indigenous technical instruction in the metropolis. It is, therefore, evident that the idea of developing a system of education in India 'on national lines and under national control' has failed, and what is more unfortunate, nothing else has been put forward to take its place. Practically, therefore, there is now a void in our educational activity, and excepting pressing with Mr. Gokhale for the further diffusion of elementary education, we do not seem prepared to think out our educational destiny with much seriousness. What a subject this for mournful pessimism!

Personally, we do not regret the collapse of the idea of education being conducted in India on 'national lines and under national control.' That was a mad idea from the beginning, and it was still greater madness to be spending money and energy to materialise that idea. The fundamental proposition to remember in this connection is that education, of all things



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in this world, can never be nationalised, and that if anything needs universalisation it is education. Unless one is prepared to make education as wide as the world, as wide as the universe, he had better not dabble in it at all. What is wanted in education above everything is an assimilation of the spirit, of the culture, and of a knowledge of the condition of things of all countries and of all ages. Rome and Sparta, Marathon and Thermopoli, Austerlitz and Waterloo, Suez and Panama, Newton and Galileo, Edison and Crookes, Lister and Koch have as many and varied lessons to give to us as the best system of education on 'national lines'. In education you can shut your door against no knowledge,—science or metaphysics, history or philosophy, arts or literature. The idea of limiting education to merely 'national lines,' as we have described it, is a mad venture, and the time has no doubt come when the promoters of the Bengal National Council of Education must look facts in the face.

We really want a system of education developed in India, independent of official control if needs be, and organised with the help and co-operation of all the communities in the empire. Now is, therefore, the time to protest against the idea of either having a Mahomedan University at Aligarh or a Hindu University at Benares. The seats of learning in Europe, whether in England or in the Continent, have not developed because of their association with this or that Church, this or that people. These Universities have succeeded, only because they have tried their best to universalise knowledge as much as possible and to throw open their doors to all branches of the human race. The idea of a denominational College or University in India is, therefore, not only out of date, but mischievous in principle. And the people who are helping the formation of a Hindu and Mahomedan University are, therefore, doing as much harm to the cause of education as to the best interests of India.

Speaking at a meeting at the Crystal Palace on July 3 last, Lord Midleton presiding, H. H. the Aga Khan made the straightforward pronouncement that "on historical, sentimental, moral and religious grounds, the Indian Mussulmans are bound to incline to self-organisation and self-expression." In a small brochure published by the Hon. Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya entitled "the Hindu University of Benares: why it is wanted and what it aims at," we find the following significant passages:—

"Let it be firmly impressed on the mind of every Hindu that



in the organisation of the Hindu University lies the best hope for the social advancement and the national uplifting of the Hindu community. Let every soul among them feel that not only the progress and prosperity but also the character and honour of the Hindus are involved in the success of this great educational undertaking. And it may safely be predicted that every man and woman among them will contribute whatever of time, energy and resources he or she can, to build up the proposed Temple of Learning on the banks of mother Ganga in the holy Kashi of Vishveshwara."

Though it is difficult not to appreciate the 2nd, 3rd and the last object of the proposed Hindu University,\* one can find out at once that it is intended to be a counterblast to the Aligarh movement; and as *divide et impera* seems for the time being to be the guiding policy of the Indian bureaucracy, both the Aligarh and the Benares schemes have been blessed with the good wishes of the *Pioneer* and some of the rulers, that be. Are there many Hindus or Mussulmans in India who do not see through the obvious trick of this support?

May we not be permitted to inquire in this connection if it is not feasible to get together the heads of all communities in India to organise and establish a central, non-official, non-denominational seat of learning in India, be it a College or a University? Now is the time to discuss the proposal and enquire about its feasibility. If the Aligarh and Benares University are ever brought into being and are allowed to create and foster racial prejudices between the two great communities inhabiting this land, the hand of Progress shall be put back many a century in India. Now or never should, therefore, be writ large in the minds of those people who have any anxiety to advance the educational cause of India from a purely scientific and a dispassionate point of view.

As for social reform, we commend to our readers a move-

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\* The objects of the University have been thus formulated :—

(i) To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Sanskrit literature, generally as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India.

(ii) to promote learning and research generally in arts and science in all branches.

(iii) to advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge, combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country; and

(iv) to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.



## THE INDIAN WORLD

ment which has been recently set on foot in Calcutta to get young men from the colleges to take a vow as never to get themselves married before they are of 25 years of age and to girls who are not above 16. We do not know if many young men who are now coming forward to take this vow will stick to their pious determination. But yet it is a noble ideal, and if one dozen of men at least will stick to the vow, that would be a great step forward in social advance. If our young men come to think today that girls must not be wedded at all before they are sixteen, they will naturally be drawn to the next stage to-morrow that no girls should be wedded at all before they are educated. We do not quite understand what is exactly meant in these days by female emancipation, but we believe that unless and until the moral, social and intellectual horizon of our women are broadened to the same extent as that of our men's, we shall not be able to make any headway. The trite expression, woman's cause is man's, conveys a great lesson of practical philosophy. That is one of the supreme lessons which ancient India gives to us and modern Europe inculcates upon us. The education of women, together with the proposal of their marriage after they have ceased to be mere girls, forms a very material item of the programme of our social advance, and anybody or section of people who help in this cause deserve well of their country and people.

But this does not exhaust our social problem, for under its wide cover come multitude of national weaknesses and shortcomings. To some of these, we have referred over and again in these pages and space forbids us to recapitulate them in the present article. One thing to which we are anxious to draw the attention of our readers to-day is the paramount importance of the Bill introduced into the Imperial Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu for amending the Act III of 1872. If the Bill is allowed to be passed, it will rank much higher in the social history of India than even Lord William Bentinck's suppression of *Suttee* and infanticide, or Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's Re-marriage of Hindu Widows' Act. Educated Indians, therefore, who feel that no national progress is possible without a proportionate social advance and that the right of conscience is a great privilege worth having must come forward to give it their whole-hearted support.

As soon as the existing difficulties for inter-provincial and inter-religious marriages are removed, the system of caste will



## EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

naturally fall to pieces like a house of cards ; and with caste will gradually disappear from our body-politic and social organism all those impediments to progress which still make us an unrecognised people on the face of the earth. The great problems of education and that of the depressed classes will also get themselves naturally solved as a consequence of the removal of all artificial barriers that now stand between man and man in all the different stratuon of our society.

A few words regarding our industrial activity and we shall have done. It is difficult to say at the present moment whether India will ever become a manufacturing country in the sense in which Japan or England or the United States are ; nor can it be welcomed with open arms should that day ever come. It is, at the present moment, almost universally recognised in all industrial countries that in factory towns what is gained in money is generally lost in character. We are, therefore, not quite sure if it is quite the right thing for us to go in wholesale for manufacturing activity, and it is well to draw the attention of all patriotic Indians to see what can be done to develop the agricultural and mineral resources of the country by introducing the processes of scientific and intensive cultivation with regard at least to the principal of our agricultural produces and by a system of survey and exploitation of all our mineral wealth.

We must not, however, be understood to say that we should not press forward for further industrial development in India. We must, however, proceed very cautiously, for one cannot be too careful in such matters. The economic and industrial conditions of India offer food for considerable reflection, and unless one feels his ground pretty sure, no one should launch himself in any enterprise for the purpose of merely making doubtful experiments. Money is very shy in India and must not be further scared away by the indiscretions of adventurous company-promoters. At the same time, efforts must be made to induce the Government to abandon its present attitude of *non possumus* and to introduce into our fiscal system a measure of Protection for at least some of our nascent and struggling industries.

A few months back we quoted with great approval Mr. Valentine Chirol's strong support of a measure of Protection for India. Now we have great pleasure in reproducing a few observations on the same subject made by a responsible Anglo-Indian organ. The *Englishman* says :—

“Before he is much older, Mr. Montagu will probably discover



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that Free Trade is not only distasteful to the general body of informed opinion in India, Native or European,<sup>7</sup> but that it is incompatible with the professed desire of the British Government to develop the economic resources of the country. India is finding, as every other country young in industrial pursuits found long ago, that ample development is impossible so long as infant industries are open to destructive competition from abroad. Better education, scientific development,—these are all very well in their way ; they are easy to talk about ; but the well-established and protected foreign competitor gives the well-educated scientific individual little opportunity for putting his theories into practice. Free Trade is demonstrably impossible for India."

But we are afraid the present liberal Government will never cease to worship at the shrine of Free Trade. It is, therefore, a hopeless matter to expect the English Government to grant to India either any modicum of fiscal independence or a measure of protection ; the next best thing for us is to press for a measure of Preference. Even if India could obtain preferential treatment from England for such of her industries as have been indicated by Professor Lees Smith, a very encouraging progress could be made in our industrial development. To this end we must direct our energy in the future in and outside the Council Chambers.

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### NOTICE

From the next issue of the *INDIAN WORLD*, we shall commence the publication of a series of critical and biographical sketches of the lives and works of all such eminent Indians of today who by deed, thought, example, culture and brilliant parts have contributed to the glory and greatness of contemporary life. The first two articles will be devoted to the lives of Mr Surendranath Banerjea and Dr. P. C. Ray.—*Ed., Indian World.*



## DIARY FOR JULY, 1911

### Date

1. Rai Bahadur Narendra Nath Sen died this evening at his Calcutta residence at the age of sixty-eight.

The Senate of Bombay University cancelled the degrees of Bachelor of Arts conferred on K. C. Karve; V. D. Savarkar, K. G. Khare, and V. M. Bhut, who were convicted and sentenced in the Nasik murder and conspiracy cases.

2. A largely attended meeting of the members of the Depressed Classes Mission was held to-day at Poona with Sirdar Coopsawmy Moodaliar in the chair and adopted resolutions in support of the Elementary Education Bill.

3. Reuter wires that the Bill introduced by Mr. Montagu in Parliament to amend the Indian High Courts Act of 1861 empowers the Government to increase the number of Judges in the High Courts in India to twenty and to create chartered High Courts in provinces where they do not exist.

A Simla wire informs that the High Courts Bill now before the House of Commons when passed into law will remain for some time to come as merely an enabling measure, as it may be confidently stated that the Government of India have no immediate intention of creating any new High Court either in Dacca or elsewhere.

Mr. Montagu gave a dinner party at the House of Commons to-day in honour of the Indian Princes.

4. Mr. Montagu's Bill to amend the Government of India Act of 1858 gives the India Office powers which the Treasury possesses to give pensions to widows of officers.

In the House of Commons, replying to Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Edward Grey said that the project of construction of a railway from Russia to India *via* Persia had been submitted to him. The Imperial Government would not oppose such a railway if it was satisfied that British and Indian interests would be adequately protected. He was unable to give particulars of the scheme at present.

The Bengal Government issues a *communiqué* recording the appreciation of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of the public services of the late Rai Norendra Nath Sen Bahadur.

5. The Calcutta Corporation adopted a resolution expressing deep sorrow at the death of Rai Bahadur N. N. Sen, and referred the consideration of the Elementary Education Bill to the Special Committee which was appointed in 1909 to consider the question of Primary Education.

6. This afternoon, in the presence of a number of Shillong residents, Sir Lancelot Hare publicly laid the foundation-stone for an enlarged and improved system of water supply for the station.

Reuter wires :—Mr. Montagu's Bill to amend the Indian High Courts Act of 1861 also enables the Indian Government to appoint from time to time temporary Additional Judges of High Courts for a period not exceeding two years. The second Bill, relating to pensions, has been withdrawn.

Reuter wires that the re-appointment of Sir John Edge and Mr. Ameer Ali to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council entitles them to a salary of £400.

Reuter wires from Johannesburg that Judge Sir J. Wessels, dealing with an application of a Mohammedan woman, decided that nobody could bring into the Transvaal more than one wife. The Indians protested to General Smuts, pointing out that polygamy was a recognised institution in India, and trusting that the former practice would be continued despite the judge's decision.



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7. A Simla wire informs that it is notified that nitrate of lime, calcium cyanamide, and mineral superphosphates are exempted from import duty leviable under the Indian Tariff Act.

The Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu had a long interview with Lord Crewe to-day respecting general affairs in India, and urged particularly that some measure be taken in connection with the Coronation Durbar to strike the imagination of the people and arouse their enthusiasm and loyalty. Lord Crewe said these representations would receive very attentive and careful consideration.

8. The Chief Court of Lahore pronounced judgment in the Amritsar murder case and acquitted the Rani Shaheba and her two associates of the charge of murder.

9. Rai Bahadur Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari who was for a long time the Secretary of the British Indian Association and editor of the *Hindu Patriot* died to-day at Benares.

At a Mahomedan meeting at Lacknow a resolution was adopted to the effect that there should be separate electorates for the Shiahs and the Sunnis.

10. The Indian Social Club of London gave a luncheon in honour of Sir K. G. Gupta on the occasion of his knighthood. The Gaekwar of Baroda presided, and Mr. Montagu, together with a large company of Indians and Anglo-Indians, were present.

11. A press *communiqué* states :—To meet the convenience of some non-official members, His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to direct that the first meeting of the Legislative Council shall be held on Monday, the 11th, instead of on Friday, the 8th September, 1911, and the subsequent meetings on Monday, the 17th, and Friday, the 21st idem.

12. The Conference of Orientalists met at Simla under the presidency of Mr. Butler.

The main questions discussed were the preservation and improvement of ancient learning, the encouragement of Pandits and Maulvis and libraries and the cataloguing of manuscripts.

Three persons including two Mahomedan Daffadars and one Hindu were shot dead at Sonarong within the Munshigunj Sub-Division in the district of Dacca.

13. In the House of Commons, replying to Colonel Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that the decision of the Secretary of State approving the general lines of re-organisation of the Indian Political Department had been conveyed to the Indian Government, who were now working out details. He hoped it would be possible to make these public soon.

In connection with the appeals of Narayan Pandurang Mehendale and Vassudes Vishwanth Athale, convicted by the Sessions Judge of Satara of conspiracy to wage war, collecting arms and exciting disaffection against the Government and sentenced to three and a half years' and five years' imprisonment respectively, the Bombay High Court confirmed the convictions and sentences.

The Conference of Orientalists sat again to-day under the presidency of the Honourable Mr. Butler. The Conference decided to recommend the constitution of a central institute for advanced Oriental studies at Calcutta. Amongst other matters, questions regarding the existing courses of study, of scholarships for such study, were also discussed.

14. The Orientalists assembled again to-day under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Butler. The question was discussed of widening the scope of the subject matter prescribed for the high proficiency and degree of honour examinations. Other subjects of a miscellaneous kind were also discussed. The Conference then resolved itself into two Sub-Committees, one dealing with examinations and the other with detailed proposals for a central institute of Oriental studies and research, and with kindred subjects, including a proposal to have an international Conference of Orientalists in India in 1913.



14. Mr. Laurence Currie is appointed as a member of the Council of India in place of Sir James Mackay, who resigned on his elevation to the peerage.

15. A Press *communiqué* says :—The Government of India understand from the information received from Peking that the Chinese ports will be closed to uncertified opium with effect from to-day.

A Simla wire informs that the Right Honourable Amir Ali, in reply to the letter of the Hon'ble Mahomed Sha Ali, the General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League, has cabled his support of the latter's view regarding the inadvisability of compulsion in the provision in Mr. Gokhale's Bill and the opinion of the London Muslim League, to the effect that compulsion should not be resorted to.

A public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Benares was held to-day in the Town Hall to accord their support to the Hon'ble Mr. Basu's Civil Marriage Bill. Pundit Ramashankar Missra, retired Collector and Magistrate, presided.

18. This evening His Excellency Sir George Clarke performed the opening ceremony of the new Agricultural College situated on the outskirts of Poona.

The Mahomedans of Delhi held a meeting in which they condemned mixed election and urged for separate representation of their community.

19. Reuter wires that pursuant to Article 3 of the Opium Agreement, China has requested prohibition of importation of Indian opium into Manchuria, Szechuan, and Shansi. The request is not likely to be entertained until proof is forthcoming of compliance with Article 7 in Canton.

Burma's first Agricultural and Co-operative Conference was opened yesterday at Mandalay by the Lieutenant-Governor before a large number of delegates.

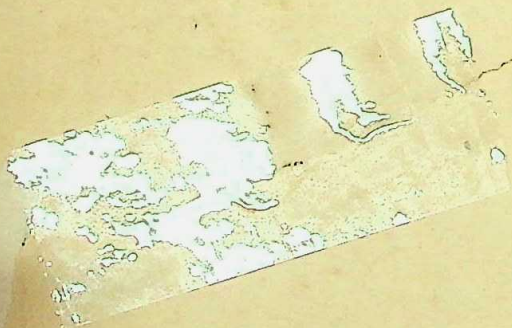
The steamer *Persia* to-day shipped £300,000 worth of gold to India.

20. A wire from Lahore informs that the Punjab Municipal Act has received the assent of the Viceroy.



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~~Q.V.E.~~ Clerk

Signature



Patrol

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